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THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY

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THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY

PART I
THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

EDITED BY

F. J. FOAKES JACKSON, D.D.

AND

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VOL. I

PROLEGOMENA I

THE JEWISH, GENTILE AND CHRISTIAN BACKGROUNDS

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TO

GEORGE FOOT MOORE

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PREFACE

The great literary achievement of the last fifty years of New Testament scholarship was the discovery and the general solution of the synoptic problem. It is the task of this generation to translate these results into the language of the historian; to show how literary complexities and contradictions reveal the growth of thought and the rise of institutions. Though much remains to be done, the general outline can already be seen. It is becoming increasingly certain that Christianity in the first century achieved a synthesis between the Greco-Oriental and the Jewish religions in the Roman Empire. The preaching of repentance, and of the Kingdom of God begun by Jesus passed into the sacramental cult of the Lord Jesus Christ. But the details are complex and obscure. What were the exact elements in this synthesis? How was it effected?

The necessary preliminary to the investigation of these questions is the study of Acts, which therefore takes its natural place as the opening contribution to the Beginnings of Christianity. Whatever be the historian's judgment as to its value as a record, without it he would be compelled to wander without a guide in the trackless forest of conjecture as to the way in which the Church organised itself, and began its work. The investigator into Christian origins is fascinated by the problem presented in the early chapters, where it is the sole authority, and is forced to consider the actual character of the Christian faith at its outset. To understand this it is necessary to go far afield in order to gather material, which, though at first sight irrelevant, bears directly on the problem.

The first volume of Prolegomena in this work must, therefore, be occupied with the historical aspect of the question. The background of Acts i.-xv. is Jewish, that of the last chapters mainly Gentile. The Christian background is common to both, but its characteristics are rapidly changing. The first volume, therefore, deals with these three points—contemporary Jewish history and religion, the organisation and general mental attitude of the world of the Roman Empire, the evolution of the early Christian preaching and ideas. In the second volume the literary phenomena of the book are the subject of investigation. A third volume will deal with the exegesis of the Text.

Although various scholars have contributed to these volumes, the Editors are responsible for the whole, as, in order to give the work coherence, they have not scrupled to rearrange, abbreviate, or expand the chapters submitted to them; and they are fully sensible of the patience displayed by their fellow-workers in accepting their suggestions. For the present volume the Editors acknowledge with gratitude the help which they have received from Canon Box and from Professor Wensink, as well as from the scholars whose definite contributions are printed. They are also greatly indebted to Miss Edith Coe for much help in the correction of proof. They have endeavoured to indicate their appreciation of the unfailing kindness and great learning of Professor George Foot Moore by dedicating to him this volume. Among many privileges which they have received in the United States they value his help as second only to his friendship.

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EVANGELICAL
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

I

THE JEWISH WORLD

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I

THE BACKGROUND OF JEWISH HISTORY

By The Editors

The historical background of the first scenes in Acts is Jerusalem, at the height of its fame and world-wide importance, with its Temple, one of the wonders of the world, almost completed.

Jerusalem. (a) Population.

Jerusalem may perhaps be compared to our English Durham, as owing its importance to the strategical position as well as to its sanctity. Just as in our northern city the castle and the cathedral were almost equally difficult to attack, so in Jerusalem the Temple was as formidable a fortress as the great towers in its vicinity. The Holy City was never a mart of nations, or a centre of human industry. Its Temple alone drew men from every part of the known world,[1] and, though intensely Jewish, its population may be described as cosmopolitan.[2] Inaccessible as it was to the traveller, it attracted devout pilgrims from the most distant countries. The normal population cannot possibly have ever exceeded 50,000, but at the great feasts more than a million were frequently gathered around the Temple;[3] and it must be remembered that the city stood in no

[1] Cf. Acts ii. 5 ff.

[2] Cf. Acts vi. 9.

[3] Josephus would justify far higher figures. In *B.J.* vi. 9. 3 he says that there were 256,500 victims at the Passover, and that there might not be less than ten men to each victim. The Midrash on Lamentations (*Echa Rabba*, 1. 2) gives a similar but much higher calculation. It relates that Agrippa wished to know the number of the pilgrims, and ordered the priests to reserve one kidney from each victim. They found at the end that they had 600,000 pairs of kidneys, and the story adds that at no Paschal meal did less than ten sit down, but that at many there sat down twenty, or forty, or fifty. But this is only one of several very imaginative stories, and has no historical value.

fertile district but amid barren and inhospitable mountains. To feed the visitors to the Temple must have been no easy task, as provisions had to be brought from a great distance.

(*b*) Configuration of site.

In its modern aspect and configuration, the ground occupied by the Holy City may be described as an uneven plateau having a general inclination from west to east and running southward into a kind of promontory between converging valleys. The western valley, called Wady-er-Rababi by the native inhabitants, is supposed to be the Valley of Hinnom ;[1] the eastern one is the Valley of the Kedron,[2] in modern native parlance, Wady-Sitti-Mariam, the "Valley of our Lady Mary."[3] Across the Kedron Valley is Olivet, the Mount of Olives, "the mount that is before Jerusalem."[4] The Valley of Hinnom, curving southward and eastward to meet the Valley of the Kedron, is shut in on the south by a hill which since the fifteenth century has been distinguished in Christian descriptions of Jerusalem as the "Hill of Evil Counsel."[5] From the junction of these two valleys the Wady-en-Nar ("Valley of Fire")[6] runs in a south-easterly direction down to the monastery of the Mar-Saba and the plain at the head of the Dead Sea.

(*c*) The hills and valleys.

Originally, the site, which is now a plateau, consisted of a group of hills standing between the Valley of Hinnom and the Valley of the Kedron. These hills were separated from each other by valleys or ravines which in the course of thirty centuries, and in consequence of the repeated destruction and devastation

[1] Joshua xv. 8; Jer. vii. 31; Watson, *Jerusalem*, p. 6; G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. i. p. 175 f.

[2] 2 Sam. xv. 23; John xviii. 1. Modern tradition calls the Kedron Valley the Valley of Jehoshaphat, thus explaining Joel iii. 2 and 12. But this tradition is not earlier than the fourth century A.D. See the article on the "Valley of Jehosaphat" in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*.

[3] Cf. G. A. Smith, *op. cit.* i. pp. 32, 38, 44, etc. The modern name is derived from the subterranean chapel identified by local tradition as the burial-place of the Virgin Mary. See Watson, *op. cit.* pp. 143, 185, 324.

[4] 1 Kings xi. 7; Luke xxi. 37; Acts i. 12.

[5] See Williams, *Holy City*, vol. i., Supplement, p. 56. The "evil counsel" is that of Judas, whose bargain with Caiaphas was said to have been struck in the high priest's residence on that hill.

[6] Probably so called because of its oppressive heat.

EVANGELICAL SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

of the city, have become choked with debris, though not to the point of being no longer traceable. On the eastern hill stood the Temple, represented since the close of the seventh century by the "Kubbet-es-Sakhra," *i.e.* "Dome of the Rock" (generally, but erroneously, spoken of as the "Mosque of Omar").[1] The lower half of the eastern hill was the original Sion, though Christian tradition, since the fourth century, has assigned the name to the western, or south-western, hill, which is about 100 feet higher,[2] and in Josephus's day was the site of the "Upper City" or "Upper Market."[3] Between the eastern and the western hill the course of a valley, now filled with debris varying from 20 to 90 feet in depth, may be traced from the Damascus Gate in the north-eastern wall of the city to its junction with the Valley of Hinnom under the "Hill of Evil Counsel." This depression, called El-Wad by the townsfolk, is the "Valley of the Cheesemakers" (*τῶν τυροποιῶν*) mentioned by Josephus, often called, by transliterating the Greek, the "Tyropoeon."[4] Another ravine to be discerned among the hills forming the plateau of Jerusalem parted the western hill (the site of the "Upper Market" of Josephus's day) from a hill lying to the north, on which now stand the Kasr-Jalud (Goliath's Castle) and the buildings of the Franciscan convent.[5]

(*d*) The walls.

The walls of the present city now form an irregular quadrilateral with a circuit of about 2½ miles. They were rebuilt, as inscriptions at various points testify, in A.H. 948 = A.D. 1541–42 at

[1] The "Dome of the Rock" was built in A.H. 72 = A.D. 691. See Watson, *Jerusalem*, p. 153; Besant and Palmer, *History of Jerusalem*, pp. 94-96. It supplied the model for representations of the Temple in numerous pictures.

[2] The western hill rises to an elevation of 2550 feet above sea-level; the Sakhra lies at a height of 2440 feet.

[3] Josephus, *B.J.* v. 4. 1. The use of the name Sion to denote the western hill may be traced from the "Itinerarium Burdigalense" (A.D. 333) onwards. See Williams, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 508 ff.; P. Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, p. 22, etc.

[4] The "Mill-Valley" and the "Street of the Moors" (Haret-al-Magharibe) in the modern city mark more or less clearly the line of the "Valley of the Cheesemakers."

[5] This second ravine or valley is marked by the "Suk," which runs down from near the Jaffa Gate.

the order of Sultan Suleiman, "the Magnificent." [1] This circuit leaves out, not only at least half of the western hill, but also the southern declivity of the eastern hill, *i.e.* the ground identified as "Ophel" and the site of the "City of David," [2] both of which areas were included within the walls of Jerusalem in the days of Herod.[3] The line of the existing walls, however, appears to have been that of the walls of Hadrian's Aelia Capitolina,[4] and is the same as that of the fortifications assailed and stormed by the Crusaders in A.D. 1099.

Josephus's description.

Josephus gives a careful description of the city in his day before he proceeds to the account of its capture and destruction by Titus. It was built on two hills divided by a valley. The higher of these is on the western side and was called by David the Citadel, but in the days of Josephus the Upper Market (ἡ ἄνω ἀγορά). The other hill was known as the *Acra*, and was crescent-shaped (ἀμφίκυρτος). According to Josephus, there was originally [5] a third hill parted by a ravine which the Hasmoneans filled up, desiring to join the city to the Temple; they changed the level of the ground, and used the soil to fill up the intervening ravine. The Upper City was separated from the Lower by the Valley of the Cheesemongers (ἡ τῶν τυροποιῶν φάραγξ). The hills were surrounded by deep and precipitous valleys, so that Jerusalem, except from the north, was practically impregnable. The chief fortifications, the great towers, Hippicus, Phasael, and Mariamne, and a threefold wall, defended the city on the north where it was most exposed to attack. South of these towers was the magnificent palace of the Herods, with

[1] Williams, *Holy City*, vol. i., Supplement, pp. 39-40.

[2] G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. i. pp. 152-169.

[3] G. A. Smith, *op. cit.* i. pp. 184-187; Josephus, *B.J.* v. 4.

[4] G. A. Smith, *op. cit.* i. pp. 185-186, shows that in the fifth century the circuit of the walls was so enlarged by the Empress Eudocia as to include the Pool of Siloam, but this enlargement was not followed in the rebuilding of Jerusalem after its devastation by the Persians in A.D. 614.

[5] The details are obscure: for the position of the Acra, and its relation to the other hill, see Josephus, *B.J.* v. 4. 1, and the discussions by G. A. Smith, *op. cit.* i. pp. 154, 159 ff., and W. R. Arnold, *Ephod and Ark*, Harvard Theological Studies, iii. p. 49.

spacious and well-watered gardens.[1] The outermost of the walls, the foundations of which were laid by Agrippa I., included the New City or suburb of Bezetha (Βεζεθά), and was only completed just before the siege began.

The Temple had been rebuilt by Herod the Great, who spared no expense to make it one of the most famous erections in the world. Its situation, though on lower ground than the western city, made it naturally a commanding object, and, overlooking as it did the Valley of the Kedron, its position was one of great strength. From Josephus it is evident that the ground on which it stood had been made by art rather than nature; for, whereas the temple of Solomon stood on a small plateau, incapable of containing more than the sanctuary, Herod's temple, thanks to his labours and those of his predecessors, the Hasmoneans, was in an immense open court, adorned with stately colonnades.[2] Built of white marble, glittering with plates of gold, its appearance from a distance is compared to that of the crest of a snow-capped mountain.[3]

THE TEMPLE. (a) Position.

According to Josephus, the most wonderful feature of the Temple was not the beauty which met the eye, but the labour with which the foundations had been laid. The site chosen by Solomon was scarcely adequate for a Temple and altar. He, however, raised a mound (χῶμα), on the east side of which he built a porch or cloister (στοά). He also encompassed the hill with a wall and raised the ground on indestructible foundations. The artificial plateau thus begun was being continually increased in size, and in the rebuilding of the Temple by Herod the walls of the great court of the Sanctuary were four furlongs in circumference.[4] The Temple stood in a court 500 cubits square, but it was not in the middle of it; it was farthest from the south wall, next from the east, then from the north, and nearest to the west.

(b) Foundations and walls.

The outer court, or "Mountain of the House," as it is called in the Mishna, was famous for its magnificent cloisters, the most

(c) The Mountain of the House

[1] *B.J.* v. 1-4.
[2] *Antiq.* xv. 11. 3.
[3] *B.J.* v. 5. 6.
[4] *Antiq.* xv. 11. 3

celebrated of which, known as "Royal," extended from the valley on the east to the Tyropoean on the west. It consisted of four rows of pillars, between which were three walks each a furlong in length. In this colonnade there were 162 columns with Corinthian capitals, and from the battlements of the cloisters one could not look down in the Valley of the Kedron without feeling giddy, as it was impossible to see to the bottom of the precipice. Josephus says that there were four gates leading to the city on the western side; one led to the king's palace—two led to the northern suburb; the fourth led to the "other city," down a great number of steps, and then up to the city, which lay over against the Temple, in the manner of a theatre.[1]

(*d*) The Sanctuary.

Within this outer court was the Temple (*ἱερόν*), itself a series of courts leading to the Sanctuary or Holy Place (*ναός*). The Gentile, who might wander at liberty among the porticoes of the outer court, was confronted with rows of pillars on which were inscribed warnings in Greek and Latin that he might go no farther.[2] A Jew desiring to enter the Temple did so by ascending fourteen steps; he then walked ten cubits on the level, and went up five more steps leading to each gate. Usually he entered by the eastern gate of Corinthian bronze to the Court of the Women, a space 135 cubits square, with colonnades like those of the outer court and large chambers at each of the four corners. In front of him were fifteen steps leading to another gate, larger than the others and highly ornamented with gold and silver.[3] He was now within the Court of the Men of Israel. Beyond was the Altar of Burnt-offering. Another flight of steps led to the porch with the famous golden vine over the gateway, and to the House (*ναός*) itself, modelled on the plan of the Tabernacle. First came a vestibule or ante-chamber, separated from the main hall by doors fifty cubits high and sixteen broad; the hall itself

[1] *Antiq.* xv. 11. 5.

[2] For the text of this warning see Appendix A on the Zealots.

[3] For the identification of these gates with the Nicanor Gate, the Shushan Gate, or the Beautiful Gate, see the note on Acts iii. 2, and cf. E. Schürer, *Die θύρα oder πύλη ὡραία, Apg. 3, 2 u. 10, Z.N.W.* vii. (1906) pp. 51 ff.

was divided into two by the great veil (*καταπέτασμα*) of Babylonian texture, blue, scarlet, and purple. The part nearer to the entrance was the Holy Place, containing the golden candlestick, the table of the shewbread, and the altar of incense; on the other side of the veil was the mysterious Holy of Holies. "In this," says Josephus, "there was nothing at all."

Life in Jerusalem must have been abnormal. Unable to support its population, it must have depended greatly upon the numerous visitors to the Temple and the benefactions of the devout. A powerful and wealthy aristocracy of priests controlled the vast revenues of the Sanctuary; a pious proletariat lived as best it could without regular occupations, listening to the disputes of the Rabbis and ready at any moment to rise in a passion of fanatical obsession. The story of the Crucifixion as told in the Gospels may be used as a mirror to show the character of the populace, the priests, and the Roman rulers in the period antecedent to the destruction of the city in A.D. 70. Related without regard to the detailed criticism of the Gospels, the story would be somewhat as follows.

Life in Jerusalem.

Jesus of Nazareth, the great Galilaean prophet, visits the city. His fame has preceded him, and the populace gives him an enthusiastic reception. The people stream forth from the city gate singing the Paschal hymn, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." They salute him, if not as the Messiah,[1] at least as the herald of the Messianic kingdom. The next day he enters the Temple and drives the traders from its courts, thereby declaring war on the priests by attacking their

The Crucifixion illustrative of the time.

[1] According to Mark xi. 9, the words of the multitude were *ὡσαννά, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου, εὐλογημένη ἡ ἐρχομένη βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Δαυείδ, ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.* There is no necessary implication that they regarded Jesus as the Messianic king; he may have been welcomed solely as the herald of the approaching (*ἐρχομένη*) kingdom of David. But in Matt. xxi. 9 the words are changed to *ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυείδ, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου, ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.* This seems Messianic, but in the next verse, when the same speakers were asked who Jesus was, the reply given is *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ προφήτης Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀπὸ Ναζαρὲθ τῆς Γαλιλαίας.* The Messianic interpretation is finally made quite plain in Luke xix. 38, *εὐλογημένος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου· ἐν οὐρανῷ εἰρήνη καὶ δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις.*

most valuable monopoly of providing sacrificial victims for the Temple.[1] His preaching, his parables, and his decisions on points of the Law further exasperate the ruling class. This Paschal season was to all appearance an anxious time. Pilate had come to Jerusalem, and Herod Antipas, according to Luke, was there with an armed force (σὺν τοῖς στρατεύμασιν αὐτοῦ[2]), so that evidently the Roman and Galilaean authorities feared a serious disturbance. The sedition of Barabbas and the tumultuous reception of Jesus increased their apprehensions, and it was impossible to trust the temper of the people, so Barabbas was seized and arrangements were made to arrest Jesus as quickly as possible and execute him, contrary to Jewish law, before the celebration of the festival.[3] Caiaphas, the High Priest, was persuaded, according to John xi. 50, that the new prophet, whether guilty or innocent, must die ; and procured his condemnation by the Sanhedrin. Pilate, however, was not convinced of the guilt of Jesus, and tried in every way to save the prisoner. According to Luke, he even referred him to Herod, who seems to have been equally unwilling to satisfy the thirst of the priesthood for blood. In the meantime the priests had won over the mob, and a violent clamour for the death of Jesus ensued. Pilate felt that at any cost the people must be quieted before the feast day, consented to condemn Jesus, and hurried him to his death.

This brief recital of the bare facts sheds a flood of light on the state of the times—the priesthood, suspicious of the first symptom of a popular rising ; the populace, burning with religious fanaticism, and ready to seize any excuse for a disturbance, and Pilate and Herod, though not without a sense of justice, determined to preserve the peace, even, if need be, at the expense of an innocent life. The explanation of the incident of the Crucifixion and the conditions which it reveals lies in an historical survey of the period.

[1] See J. Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, pp. 466 ff.

[2] Luke xxiii. 11. See A. W. Verrall, "Christ before Herod," in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, April 1909 (vol. x. pp. 321 ff.).

[3] Matt. xxvi. 5 ; Mark and Luke are less precise.

The Jewish state, as it was in the days of the New Testament, began with the heroic rising of the Jews under the sons of the priest Mattathias against Antiochus Epiphanes. This led to the extinction of the ancient high priestly stock, the independence of Judaea, and the establishment of the Hasmonean dynasty in Jerusalem. Under these energetic and warlike princes, who also assumed the high priesthood, the Jews threw off the yoke of the degenerate Seleucids, and succeeded in subduing their neighbours and extending their frontiers. After the death of the prudent Queen Alexandra in 69 B.C., the dissensions of her sons compelled the Romans, who since the overthrow of Mithradates had become all-powerful in the East,[1] to interfere in Jewish affairs, which, to do them justice, they did most unwillingly. Pompey took Jerusalem in 63 B.C. and entered the Holy of Holies; but he scrupulously refrained from plundering the Temple.[2] Under his legates the Jewish state was deprived of the Greek towns which it had seized, but was allowed considerable self-government. The Roman policy to the Jews was almost uniformly considerate. Crassus, the triumvir, it is true, with characteristic rapacity, plundered the Temple just before his disastrous defeat at Carrae; but Caesar treated the Jews with unexampled generosity, granting them exceptional privileges,[3] and respecting their peculiar customs, such as the Sabbatical year, gathering for common festivals, and the payment of tithes to the High Priest.

Rise of the Priest-kings of Judah.

The Romans.

The favour with which the Jews were treated was mainly due to the sagacious policy of their Idumaean rulers, Antipater and his sons, of whom Herod the Great was by far the most eminent. Hateful as the family was to the Jews, it procured them the blessings of peace and a wider domination than the nation had enjoyed since the legendary splendours of the reign of Solomon. For five generations the family pursued a consistent policy of fidelity to the Roman power, not to individuals but to

The Idumaean rulers.

[1] *Antiq.* xiv. 2. 3. [2] *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 4; *B.J.* i. 7. 6.
[3] *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 2-8.

the Republic. Thus Pompey, Caesar, Antony, and Octavian, whichever general was supreme in the East, found in the Herods able and efficient supporters. It was the same when Augustus assumed the principate, and down to the disastrous termination of the Jewish war in A.D. 70. In days of adversity, as well as in prosperity, the Herods were on the side of Rome. How certainly they could be relied on is shown by the fact that, after the battle of Actium, Herod the Great, who had been the most loyal supporter of Antony, boldly avowed his friendship for the fallen triumvir and offered to serve Octavian as faithfully as he had his rival. He was instantly welcomed as a trustworthy ally.[1] To demonstrate how thoroughly the Romans accepted the services of the family, it is sufficient to say that from about 63 B.C., the days of Antipater and Pompey, to the death of Agrippa II. in A.D. 100 there was hardly a year in which a Herod was not ruling in the East, or in high favour in Rome.

Roman policy towards the Jews.

If anything could have prevented the catastrophe which overtook the Jewish nation, it was the general policy of Rome towards them. The Roman instinct for statesmanship recognised in the Jews a peculiar people, who needed exceptional treatment. Caesar, as has been said, granted the nation unusual privileges by safeguarding their customs and giving facilities throughout the Empire for the observance of the Law. The appointment as king of the Jews of Herod the Great, who, though an Idumaean by birth, was a Jew by religion, showed that the Romans were anxious to grant the nation as much self-government as was compatible with the peace of the East.[2] Even after the death of Herod his descendants were allowed, whenever possible, to rule over his dominions, which were divided between three of his sons, two of whom held their tetrarchies uninterruptedly for many

[1] *Antiq.* xv. 6. 5; *B.J.* i. 20. 1-2.

[2] *Antiq.* xiv. 14. 4. Despite the historian's emphasis on the importance of Herod in the East, he was only a king of secondary rank, and was not allowed, as the superior monarchs, to coin silver, but only copper. Cf. E. Schürer, *G.J.V.* ed. 4, vol. i. p. 403.

years. The third, Archelaus, failed as Ethnarch in Judaea; and when, in A.D. 6, the Romans, at the request of the Jews, took over his dominions, they did so reluctantly.[1] Even then they handed it back to Herod's grandson, Agrippa, in A.D. 41. So anxious was Tiberius to have men in Judaea who knew the people and understood their customs, that he appointed only two procurators, Valerius Gratus and Pontius Pilate, during his long principate, and left the Herods, Antipas and Philip, undisturbed in their tetrarchies.[2]

Unpopularity of Herodian family.

Despite the great ability of Herod the Great and the prudence of Antipas in retaining the favour of Tiberius, none of the family, with one notable exception, succeeded in conciliating their Jewish subjects. Even Herod's government, which gave the nation a position such as it never had enjoyed before, failed to obliterate the memory that he was an Idumaean by birth who had supplanted the Hasmoneans of beloved memory. His splendid munificence in building Sebaste (Samaria) and making the great harbour of Caesarea only aggravated his unpopularity with the Jews. Not even the prodigal generosity with which he rebuilt their temple, making it one of the wonders of the world, could secure their favour. To the Romans Herod was a capable ruler, public-spirited in his liberality, a patron of arts and literature, whose strong hand kept his dominions at peace. To the Jews he was little better than an Arab freebooter, with secular ambitions and purely worldly aims, whose record was one of savage murders prompted by insane jealousy and suspicion.

In order to estimate him justly it must be borne in mind that the record of the Hasmoneans from the days of Judas the Maccabee had been marked by the same stories of rebellion and reprisal, of domestic discords terminating in bloodshed, as the reign of Herod; and, when Judaea was taken over by the Romans at the earnest request of its inhabitants, the procurators

[1] *Antiq.* xvii. 11. 2-4.

[2] For Tiberius's partiality for Antipas see Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 3. For the same emperor's policy in regard to provincial governors, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 5.

found that their task was no less difficult than that of the Herods or the much lamented priest-kings of the house of Hasmon. The factions and parties of Jerusalem disturbed their peace precisely as they had that of Herod, Alexander Jannaeus, or even the famous Jewish champion, John Hyrcanus.

Prosperity of Jerusalem.

Yet, since the day that Sosius sacked the city and placed Herod on the throne in 37 B.C.,[1] Jerusalem had grown steadily in wealth and prosperity, and the Temple had become a centre, not merely of national, but of world-wide interest. Despite the smouldering discontent of its population under the *pax Romana*, the Holy City increased in extent and population; its palaces, its fortresses, and, above all, its Temple moved the astonishment of mankind. Never in its long history had Jerusalem experienced such unbroken peace and progress as in the century which preceded the outbreak of the Jewish war: the riots and petty rebellions were but symptoms of troubles to come.

Administration of Judaea.

After the death of Herod the Great, Judaea had been given by Augustus to Archelaus, whose misgovernment led to his removal in A.D. 6. Quirinius, who then ruled over Syria, proceeded to enrol the inhabitants as provincials, and the district was separately administered by an official of equestrian rank subject to the control of the Syrian governor.[2] The first appointed after the return of Quirinius to Syria was Coponius. Despite the unpopularity of the census, there seems to have been very little disturbance at Judaea's passing under Roman sway. According to Josephus, Joazar, son of Boethius, the High Priest, persuaded the people to submit to the inevitable; and Judas of Galilee, called by the historian "the Gaulonite of Gamala," failed in exciting a revolt, but succeeded in propagating the dangerous doctrines afterwards adopted by the Zealots in A.D. 66.[3] The successors of Coponius are mere names to us—Marcus Ambivius, Annius Rufus, and

[1] Josephus, *B.J.* i. 18. 3. [2] Cf. Luke ii. 1 f.
[3] *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 1 and 6; see also Appendix A.

Valerius Gratus. The fifth was Pontius Pilate. The seat of the government was Caesarea Stratonis ; Jerusalem was left with a few soldiers to keep the peace, and was governed by the High Priest, who presided over the national council or Sanhedrin, so that the Romans inflicted their presence on it as little as possible.

Pontius Pilate as Procurator.

The long administration of Pilate passed without any serious disturbance, though Josephus relates that on two occasions he came in conflict with the provincials. On a visit to Jerusalem he ordered the soldiers to introduce standards bearing the image of Caesar into the city. This was regarded by the Jews as a deadly insult to the Law, and, when Pilate threatened the people with death unless they withdrew their opposition, they with one accord bared the neck to the soldiers who surrounded them. Pilate, who must have acted under orders in departing from the ordinary custom of respecting Jewish prejudices, preferred rather to take the risk of offending Tiberius by withdrawing the images than to order a massacre, and consented to remove the standards.[1] He found that, even when he meditated a great benefit to the city by constructing an aqueduct twenty-five or even fifty miles in length to bring water to the city, he could only do so at the price of a bloody riot. Not unreasonably he demanded that the money should be supplied by the treasury of the Temple, but a cry of sacrilege was raised, and Pilate was insulted by the populace. The soldiers were ordered to disperse the people, and did so with unnecessary violence. Whether the aqueduct was made or not is not stated.[2]

Pilate's fall was due to an outburst of credulous fanaticism in Samaria. An impostor offered to reveal the sacred vessels of Moses hidden in Mount Gerizim. An armed multitude followed him to a village called Tirabatha, where they were surprised by Pilate's soldiers, and many were slain. The Samaritans complained to Vitellius, governor of Syria, who sent Marcellus to take over the government, and ordered Pilate to report himself

[1] *B.J.* ii. 9. 2; *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 1. [2] *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 2; *B.J.* ii. 9. 4.

at Rome.[1] Before he arrived Tiberius was dead, and a new régime had commenced.

Concessions made by Vitellius.

The accession of Gaius, better known as Caligula, opened with good auguries for the Jews. Vitellius came to Jerusalem in A.D. 37, and conciliated the people by an act which was highly appreciated. Since the days of Herod the sacred robes in which the High Priest officiated had been kept in the castle of Antonia, adjoining the Temple, and only handed over seven days previous to the great festivals. This meant that no one might officiate as the supreme pontiff without the leave of the Government, as the vestments were indispensable to the validity of the ceremony.[2] Thus the appointment of the High Priest was virtually in the hands of the secular powers. Vitellius surrendered to the Jews the custody of the holy garments, though he deposed Joseph Caiaphas, the acting High Priest, and appointed Jonathan, the son of Ananus, in his place.

Herod Agrippa.

A new and interesting figure now appears on the stage in the person of Herod Agrippa. This prince, unlike the other Herodian rulers, had a hold on the affection of the Jewish nation by being an undoubted representative of the old line of priestly kings, since he was grandson of Mariamne, the wife of Herod, and the last survivor of that ill-fated line. In consideration of this the Jews were prepared to forget that he was a Herod, and to see in him a representative of the valiant and pious Maccabees. To his advantages of birth he added those of education, popularity, and the reputation of being devoted to his ancestral religion. Agrippa was the son of Aristobulus, who was put to death in 7 B.C., and his sister was the Herodias of the Gospel story. He married his cousin Cypros, who was likewise of Hasmonean stock, being the grand-daughter of Mariamne through her mother Salampsio.[3] Agrippa was educated at Rome, and enjoyed the constant friendship of Antonia, the

[1] *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 1. [2] *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 3.

[3] The complicated pedigree of the daughters of Herod the Great and the intermarriages of their children are given in Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4.

widow of Tiberius's brother Drusus, who was attached to the memory of Agrippa's mother Berenice. He was the companion of the younger Drusus, the son of Tiberius; but, after his son's untimely death in A.D. 23, the Emperor could not bear to see Agrippa, so he was forced to leave Rome, deeply in debt, and to betake himself to the East. In his desperation he meditated suicide; but his faithful wife, Cypros, besought her sister-in-law Herodias, the wife of Antipas, to befriend him, and he was given a magistracy at Tiberias and a pension. But Agrippa soon ran deeper than ever into debt, quarrelled with Antipas, and was obliged to take refuge with Flaccus, the governor of Syria, on whom his brother Aristobulus was also dependent. The malice of Aristobulus revealed that Agrippa had taken a bribe from the Damascenes in order to influence Flaccus in a judicial decision, with the result that Syria became no place for the unlucky prince. He wandered from city to city, borrowing wherever he could, and paying nobody. At last he reached Alexandria, where he applied for assistance to Alexander, the Jewish Alabarch, who at first refused to help him, but, moved by the entreaties of Cypros, promised to lend 200,000 drachmas on her security.[1] The cautious Alabarch, however, knowing that Agrippa was not to be trusted with a large sum, stipulated that he would only pay him by instalments. In this way he reached Rome to find that Tiberius knew that he owed the treasury 300,000 drachmas, and refused to see him till it was paid. Agrippa thereupon besought Antonia, wife of the elder Drusus, out of friendship to his mother Berenice, to lend him the money. He repaid her by borrowing another million, and on the residue he was able to live in splendour in the society of Gaius, the future Emperor. Even then he managed again to offend Tiberius, and was in prison at the time of that Emperor's death.[2]

Such was the somewhat discreditable early career of a prince destined for a brief period to reign over nearly all the extensive

[1] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 1-5. [2] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 10.

dominions of Herod the Great, and to die universally lamented by the Jewish nation.

Herod Antipas.

His kinsman Antipas had, by one of Herod the Great's wills, been designated heir to his entire principality. At the death of his father he had hoped to obtain it from Augustus, but was obliged to content himself with the tetrarchy of Galilee and Peraea. It is probable that he never quite lost sight of the object of his ambition. True, however, to the policy of his family, he remained quietly in his province, and occupied himself in building cities like Sepphoris, Bethsaida Julias, and above all Tiberias, which he so named in compliment to Tiberius. It was probably in furtherance of his scheme to possess the whole of the Herodian inheritance that he was willing to abandon his wife, the daughter of Aretas, and persuaded Herodias to leave her husband, who was also his brother, and marry him. Herodias's daughter by her first marriage, Salome, was married to Philip, the Tetrarch, and thus both brothers, Antipas and Philip, had wives of Hasmonean birth.

Marriage with Herodias.

According to *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1, Antipas, when on his way to Rome, lodged with his brother Herod, and fell in love with his wife.[1] She agreed to leave her husband and to marry him if

[1] As told by Dr. A. C. Headlam in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* and by other English authorities, the story makes the first husband of Herodias live in Rome, and related that Herod Antipas met her there. There is, however, no support for this theory except in Whiston's translation. Josephus says, in *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1, that Antipas had married the daughter of Aretas, στελλόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης κατάγεται ἐν Ἡρώδου ἀδελφοῦ ὄντος κ.τ.λ. This is translated by Whiston, "When he was once at Rome he lodged with Herod," but the meaning really is, "On a mission to Rome he lodged with Herod." The context makes it plain that Rome was the place to which his mission was ultimately directed, not the place in which he lodged with Herod; for Josephus adds that the arrangement which Herod then made with Herodias was for her to come and live with him (μετοικίσασθαι παρ' αὐτόν) when he was back from Rome (ὅποτε ἀπὸ Ῥώμης παραγένοιτο). The narrative confirms this by going on to say that he sailed to Rome with this agreement (καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπλει ταῦτα συνθέμενος), and by finishing with the mention of his return after completing his mission in Rome (ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπανεχώρει διαπραξάμενος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐφ' ἅπερ ἔσταλτο), using the same verb (στέλλειν) to describe the mission as is found at the beginning of the story. The meaning is quite plain, and the "tradition" that the first husband of Herodias lived in Rome ought to be abandoned. Josephus really gives no clue as to where he really lived, but obviously it was somewhere in the East. The

on his return he would divorce the daughter of Aretas. Antipas, having agreed to this, sailed to Rome. On his return to Palestine, his wife got wind of what he was about to do. She requested Antipas to send her to Machaerus, a fortress on the borders of the realms of Antipas and Aretas. From thence she had planned her escape to her father by aid of his "generals," who passed her from one to another till she reached her home. On learning what Antipas was doing, Aretas made his conduct an excuse to prepare for war. Neither king fought in person, but let their "generals" conduct the military operations. This, perhaps, implies that neither of them deemed it prudent to wage war directly for fear of the displeasure of Tiberius, and therefore incited the sheikhs subject to them to engage in desultory expeditions, which may have lasted some years. Aretas, however, managed that Antipas should be ultimately defeated, and deeply offended Tiberius by his success, who, at the request of Antipas, ordered Vitellius to bring in Aretas dead or alive.

The defeat of the army of Antipas may quite possibly have taken place as late as A.D. 36, but Antipas had evidently been married to Herodias for many years. The exact date of his marriage is uncertain, but it cannot be far removed from A.D. 23.[1]

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mistake of Whiston and his followers is probably a human tendency to translate sentences separately instead of in their context, combined with the feeling that the genitive with *ἐπί* after *στελλόμενος* is not correct Greek for "on a mission to Rome." Possibly the feeling is justifiable, but the idiom is exactly in accordance with the usage of Josephus, who writes, a few lines further on, *πέμπειν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ Μαχαιροῦντος*, with the meaning, "send her to Machaerus." Josephus never wrote perfect Greek, and in the later books of the *Antiquities* there is a marked deterioration of style; either he or his corrector seems to have suffered from fatigue.

[1] The date seems to be fixed by the following considerations. It cannot be much later than A.D. 23, because Agrippa I. left Rome soon after the death of Drusus, the son of Tiberius, in that year, as Tiberius could not endure the sight of his dead son's friends. Agrippa then went to Palestine, destitute and meditating suicide, but was helped by Herodias to the office of the *ἀγορανομία* in Tiberias. Her influence is only intelligible if she was already the wife of Antipas. On the other hand, it cannot have been much earlier than A.D. 23, as that would imply an improbable length for the war between Herod and Aretas. It should be noted that this combination of the marriage of Herodias with the death of Drusus destroys the value of the arguments of K. Lake in

Death of the Baptist.

That Antipas put John the Baptist[1] to death is affirmed by Josephus as well as by the Gospels. But they differ both as to the place and the reason of his execution. According to Josephus, Antipas regarded John as a dangerous political influence, stirring up unrest among the people: according to the Gospels, Antipas was himself favourable to John, but put him to death to please Herodias, against whose marriage with Antipas John had protested. According to Josephus, John was imprisoned in Machaerus; but Mark speaks of the presence of the chief men of Galilee at a feast on Herod's birthday, and this celebration is not likely to have been held in a distant frontier fortress.[2] That the Baptist, as Josephus asserts, was sent to Machaerus is extremely doubtful. If he condemned the union with Herodias, he would have been a partisan of Aretas, and to select a place on the frontier where he might easily be rescued would have been the height of imprudence. It is much more likely that he was imprisoned and put to death, as Mark implies, in Galilee.

Policy of Antipas's marriage.

It is possible that the marriages of Antipas with Herodias and of Philip with her daughter had the distinctly political aim of legitimising this branch of the Herod family by an Hasmonean alliance, and it is not unlikely that the procurator Pilate may have recognised this, and feared that Antipas, being

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the *Expositor*, 1912, in favour of a late date for the marriage of Herodias, in the belief that it must have been shortly before the defeat of Antipas by Aretas, and therefore not long before the death of Tiberius.

[1] See further, pp. 101 ff.

[2] A further difficulty has been raised by the older editions of Josephus, which in *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1 referred to Machaerus in connection with the daughter of Aretas as Μαχαιροῦντα τότε πατρὶ αὐτῆς ὑποτελῆ, making it thus the property of Aretas, not of Herod. This would make the confusion worse, for Herod could not even have been supposed by Josephus to send John to a prison which belonged to a king with whom he was at war. But the MSS. and Niese read ἡ δὲ προαπεστάλκει γὰρ ἐκ πλείονος εἰς τὸν Μαχαιροῦντα τῷ τε πατρὶ αὐτῆς ὑποτελεῖ, κ.τ.λ., which seems to mean "for she had sent ahead to Machaerus (the last town of Herod's jurisdiction) and to the district subject to her father, etc." It need not be said that the change from εἰς Μαχαιροῦντα to the dative τῷ . . . ὑποτελεῖ is harsh, but Josephus was quite capable of it, and the context in *Antiq.* xviii. shows quite clearly that Machaerus was Herod's frontier fortress, not that of Aretas.

married to an Hasmonean, hoped to induce Tiberius to add Judaea to his dominions, for Luke relates that Antipas and Pilate were enemies.[1]

Policy rather than passion may have first drawn Herodias and Antipas together, and it can cause no surprise that a woman of her character resolved to put to death the Baptist if he suggested the illegality of her marriage and the advisability of her husband making an advantageous peace by taking back his wife. But, though Antipas and Herodias may have come together first from ambition and policy, they seem to have been united also by real affection. The words of Herodias when Caligula offered to exempt her from her husband's sentence of banishment are noteworthy: "It is not just that I, who have been made a partner in his prosperity, should forsake him in his misfortunes."[2] These are the words of a woman who not merely has lived some years with her husband, but has also been glad to have it so, for better or worse. Herodias was as loyal to Antipas as Cypros was to Agrippa.

Palestine at the death of Tiberius.

At the death of Tiberius, A.D. 37, two of the three divisions of Palestine were without a ruler. Philip had died in A.D. 34, and Pontius Pilate had been recalled from Judaea in A.D. 36-37, while Antipas had failed ignominiously in his war with Aretas. Everything, therefore, was contributing to the advancement of Herod Agrippa and the restoration of the Jewish kingdom.

Herod Agrippa made a king.

This was the turning-point in Agrippa's career. As soon as decency permitted, Caligula, who had succeeded his great-uncle, set Agrippa free, and gave him the tetrarchy of his uncle Philip, to which he added the so-called district of Lysanias.[3] Agrippa, now a king, remained some time in Rome, and then obtained permission to return to his native country. A procurator of Judaea was appointed, named Marullus.

Herod Antipas banished.

On Agrippa's arrival in Palestine as a king, Herodias thought it intolerable that her husband should not enjoy an equally

[1] Luke xxiii. 12. [2] *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 2.
[3] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 11, but see also xix. 5. 1 and Luke iii. 1.

honourable title, and persuaded him to request Caligula to give him also the same dignity. Agrippa sent his freedman Fortunatus to accuse Antipas of having plotted with Sejanus in the days of Tiberius, and also of intriguing with the Parthians, and having in his arsenals armour for 70,000 men.[1] This proved the ruin of Antipas, whose tetrarchy and treasury were alike confiscated; and he and Herodias, who refused to desert her husband in his affliction, were banished to Lyons in Gaul. Their dominions were added to the kingdom of Agrippa, who thus was master of all Palestine, except Judaea and Samaria.

The statue of Caligula.

There followed a crisis in the life of Agrippa, from which he emerged safely with his credit among his countrymen vastly enhanced. Caligula, by his endeavour to set up his own statue in the Temple, almost precipitated the outbreak of a Jewish war, which was prevented only by the courageous prudence of Petronius, the governor of Syria, the intercession of Agrippa, and the timely murder of the Emperor.

There are two accounts of this affair, a contemporary version by Philo, who took an active part in it, and a later one by Josephus, who was a child at the time. There is a remarkable silence on the part of other authorities. Tacitus, it is true, alludes to it, but Suetonius and Dio Cassius say nothing on the subject, nor is any allusion made to it either in the New Testament or in the Rabbinical writings. Even as related, a certain obscurity hangs over the story which cannot easily be dissipated.[2]

Tumults at Alexandria.

Philo says that at the death of Tiberius the hostility of the Greeks to the Jews began to be manifested. For centuries Alexandria had been the centre of an immense Jewish community. The city was divided into five districts, two being exclusively

[1] *Antiq.* xviii. 7. 2; *B.J.* ii. 10. 6.

[2] The authorities are Philo, *Adversus Flaccum* and *Legatio ad Gaium*; for a discussion of the relation of these books to each other, and the probability that they are the remnants of an account of the persecution of the Jews, written originally in five books, see E. Schürer, *G.J.V.* ed. 4, vol. iii. pp. 677-683. Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 1-9; *B.J.* ii. 10. 1-5; Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9.

Jewish.[1] The wealth of the Jews was evidently considerable, and they were already successful in the world of finance. During the latter years of Tiberius they had enjoyed great prosperity under the beneficent rule of the Roman governor, A. Avilius Flaccus.[2] But the character of Flaccus underwent a complete change after the death of Macro, the virtuous adviser of Caligula. It was suggested to him by false friends that the best way to placate the Emperor would be to persecute the Jews;[3] and on the arrival of Agrippa at Alexandria in August A.D. 38, invested with royal dignity, Flaccus, though he dissembled his enmity and received the king courteously, secretly incited the mob of Alexandria to insult him.[4]

Accordingly, the Alexandrians took a miserable idiot named Karabas, dressed him up as a king, and treated him with the honours of mock royalty, hailing him by the Syrian title "Marin" or Lord. This was the signal for a regular persecution of the Jews, who were driven into a single quarter of the city, their houses were plundered of all valuables, and many were killed with all the refinements of cruelty known to the Alexandrian mob. Among other insults it was determined to put the image of Caesar into the synagogues. The mob dragged out an old carriage (*quadriga*), and, placing an image of Caesar on it, brought it into the largest synagogue in the city. Flaccus is said to have encouraged these outrages, and to have scourged cruelly thirty-eight members of the Jewish Senate (*γερουσία*). It seems strange that the governor could have hoped to ingratiate himself with Caligula by conniving at the gross insults offered to his friend Agrippa, and by subjecting peaceful Jews to intolerable outrages. Anyhow it profited him nothing, for Flaccus was deprived, and perished miserably in the island of Andros.[5]

There seems to have been something to say on the side of the Alexandrians, and the Jews were probably not so entirely

[1] Philo, *Adv. Flaccum*, viii. A few Jews, but only a few, lived scattered in the other districts.

[2] Philo gives the highest praise to Tiberius's ability and prudence.

[3] *Adv. Flaccum*, iv. [4] *Adv. Flaccum*, v.-vi. [5] *Adv. Flaccum*, xxi.

peaceable as Philo desires us to understand. At any rate, the Jews apparently were deprived of their synagogues in Alexandria. Both parties sent embassies to Caligula, and the Alexandrians, despite the efforts of the Jews, won over the Emperor's favourite Helicon and obtained a favourable verdict.[1]

Protest against the statue.

Caligula seems to have been impressed with the idea that the setting up of his image in the synagogues was a proof of loyalty, and the Jewish objection to receiving it a token of disaffection. To this Josephus attributes the order to erect a statue in the Temple at Jerusalem, but, according to Philo, this was provoked by the conduct of the heathen at Jamnia. This city was the property of the Emperor, and when, in derision of the Jews, the Greek inhabitants set up an altar which was immediately demolished, his procurator, Herennius Capito, gave orders to set up the imperial image in the Temple. Thereupon Caligula instructed Petronius, the governor of Syria, in somewhat vague terms, to arrange for its being brought to Jerusalem, taking due precautions against an insurrection on the part of the Jews. The whole nation, on hearing of what was proposed, united in a solemn but peaceful protest, which so moved Petronius that he delayed the execution of the imperial command.

Herod Agrippa intercedes.

This happened apparently in the winter of A.D. 39–40. In the September following, Agrippa arrived in Italy. He was in the highest favour with the Emperor, having in the previous year received the dominions of his uncle Antipas. The news was brought to him that Caligula had ordered the erection of his statue in the Temple, and filled him with the utmost dismay. According to Philo, Caligula himself communicated his design

[1] From a perusal of the *Legatio ad Gaium* it might appear that there was only a single mission. Josephus, however (*Antiq.* xviii. 8. 1), says that the Alexandrians first sent three ambassadors to Rome, of whom the great enemy of the Jews, Apion, was one, whilst Philo headed the Jewish delegates. It was in consequence of the ill-success of the Jews that Caligula ordered the statue to be erected. This must have been in the winter of A.D. 38. Agrippa was not in Rome till the following autumn. The interesting description of the reception of the Jews in the gardens of Maecenas and Lamia (*Legatio*, xliv.-xlvi.) refers to a second and later mission of Philo and *four* others in A.D. 40. See Schürer, *G.J.V.* ed. 4, vol. i. pp. 500$\frac{3}{4}$ff.

to Agrippa, who fainted with horror and was borne unconscious to his own house, where he remained in a state of stupor for three days. On recovering, he still imagined himself in the terrible presence of Caesar. He summoned up courage to write a long and argumentative letter to the Emperor, who was greatly divided between his affection for Agrippa and his displeasure at having his claim to receive honour from his Jewish subjects disputed.[1] Josephus tells the story in such a way as to bring the king's conduct in the matter into more heroic light. Agrippa invited Caligula to a splendid banquet, and boldly preferred his request, after obtaining a promise that the Emperor would grant whatever he asked. The order was recalled; but Petronius was commanded to commit suicide.[2] Fortunately the Emperor's letter arrived after the news of his murder on January 24, A.D. 41, had reached Syria.[3]

Herod Agrippa receives Judaea.

Agrippa, who was still in Rome when Caligula was murdered, immediately threw the whole weight of his influence on the side of Claudius,[4] with the result that Judaea and Samaria were given to him, and he recovered the entire kingdom of his grandfather, Herod the Great, except Ituraea, which was given to Sohemius.[5] For a brief period of three years the Jews, with a king of their own whom they welcomed with enthusiasm, had possession of their own land. On the Feast of Tabernacles, when Agrippa modestly confessed his Idumaean descent, the people with one voice exclaimed, "Thou art our brother."[6]

[1] Philo, *Legatio*, xxxvi. ff. [2] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 8. 7-9.

[3] F. Huidekoper, *Judaism at Rome*, vol. i. p. 215, throws doubt on the whole story as a fiction, designed to blacken the character of Caligula, by the Roman aristocracy and those Jews who, like Agrippa, were intriguing on behalf of Claudius. The interest to the student of Acts is that here an opportunity is given of comparing Josephus with a writer like Philo whom he may have used.

[4] *B.J.* ii. 9. 1.

[5] At the accession of Caligula, Agrippa was given the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias (*Antiq.* xviii. 6. 9). When Antipas lost his dominions, they were given by Caligula to Agrippa (*Antiq.* xviii. 7. 2). At the accession of Claudius he received "all the country over which Herod, his grandfather, had reigned" (*Antiq.* xix. 5. 1).

[6] Sotah, vii. 8. Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 7. 4, relates how a Jew named Simon tried to get Agrippa excluded from the Temple as no true Jew, but was overcome by the king's affability.

Death of James and arrest of Peter.

At the same moment came the great crisis in the history of the Christian Church. Evidently, though Acts gives no hint as to the cause, the believers had lost their early favour with the people of Jerusalem; and Herod, bent on securing the support of his subjects, beheaded James, the brother of John, and arrested Peter with the intention of "bringing him before the people," which may mean a formal trial before the Sanhedrin.[1] With no Roman judge to satisfy, and Jerusalem under a popular and orthodox king, the apostles' condemnation and death were assured. This completely broke up the apostolic community, at any rate for a time. Peter escaped from prison, reported himself at the house of Mary, and betook himself elsewhere.[2]

Agrippa may perhaps be described as *felix opportunitate mortis*, for the experiment of a Jewish kingdom in Palestine was doomed to failure. The more beloved a king was by the Jews, and the more sincere his religion, the more certain was he to be detested by his other subjects. Realising this, Agrippa resolved to make Jerusalem his capital, and to render the city, if possible, impregnable. The growing prosperity of the Jews is shown by the fact that the population had overrun the ancient walls, and that a large suburb was growing up on the northern side. This Herod proposed to enclose with a strong wall which would render the city unassailable on its weakest quarter.[3] That he had judged rightly is seen by the fact that it was from the north that Titus made his first attack on Jerusalem.

Death of Herod Agrippa.

According to Josephus, the death of Agrippa took place in the spring of A.D. 44. He was celebrating games in honour of Caesar, on the second day of which he put on a silver robe, which shone in the sun's rays. "Thereupon the people cried out (though not for his good) that he was a god." The king did not rebuke them for this impious flattery, but, looking up, he saw an owl on a rope, and was at once stricken with pain. Even in

[1] Acts xii. 4, *ἀναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν τῷ λαῷ*. Cf. Acts xvii. 5, *αὐτοὺς προαγαγεῖν εἰς τὸν δῆμον*.

[2] Acts xii. 17, *ἐπορεύθη εἰς ἕτερον τόπον*.

[3] *Antiq.* xix. 7. 2; *B.J.* ii. 11. 6. The Romans refused to sanction Herod's scheme.

his agony he wept when he saw the people crowding round his palace and praying for his recovery. Four days later he died, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. Acts is in substantial agreement with this, save that it is implied that the occasion was a reconciliation between Agrippa and the Phoenicians of Tyre and Sidon, and that his death was a punishment for his impiety.[1]

The mention of a quarrel with the Tyrians suggests that the king was unpopular with his heathen subjects, on which point Josephus, who describes his reign in the style of a panegyric, is discreetly silent till he comes to his death, when he admits that the inhabitants of Caesarea and Sebaste exhibited indecent joy, insulting his daughters' statues in the grossest manner.[2] He does not, however, scruple to relate that, despite the loyalty of his Judaism, Agrippa gave gladiatorial shows as bloody as they were magnificent, and that at one of these 1400 perished fighting "that both the malefactors might receive their punishment and that this operation in war might be a recreation in peace."[3] With him the last hope of a Jewish monarchy was at an end. "The sceptre had departed from Judah."

The last part of Acts, from the twelfth chapter to the end, does not deal greatly with contemporary Jewish history, and it is scarcely necessary to do more than to carry the narrative in outline down to the outbreak of the Jewish war.

Appointment of High Priest given to the Herods.

On the death of Agrippa the Roman Government decided not to entrust his dominions to his son, Agrippa II., who was only seventeen years old, or to his uncle, Herod, King of Chalcis. This seems a fairly conclusive proof either that Claudius and his advisers distrusted the Herods' ambition, or, as appears more probable, that Agrippa, however popular he may have been with the Jews, had proved incapable of satisfying the inhabitants of the Greek cities.[4] At any rate, Rome reverted to the policy of sending governors to Judaea.

[1] *Antiq.* xix. 8. 2; Acts xii. 20-23.

[2] *Antiq.* xix. 9. 1.

[3] *Antiq.* xix. 7. 5.

[4] Josephus says (*Antiq.* xix. 9. 2) that Claudius wished to appoint Agrippa II., but his advisers said he was too young.

THE PROCURATORS, A.D. 44–66.

The succession of procurators from A.D. 44 to A.D. 66 was rapid, and none of them seemed to have enjoyed the tranquil times of Valerius Gratus or even of Pontius Pilate. The whole country, including Galilee, was becoming daily more disorganised and a prey to robber chieftains. Cuspius Fadus, who was appointed on the death of Agrippa, was evidently a man of energy. Under him the rebellion of Theudas was promptly put down.[1] He found that the Jews of Peraea had attacked and maltreated the Philadelphians, and punished them severely. He killed two robber chiefs, Hannibal (Ἀννίβας) and Ptolemy (Θολομαῖος), and banished two others, Amaram and Eleazar.[2] This effectively cleared Judaea of robbers for a time; and Fadus, determining to be master of the situation, demanded that the priestly vestments should be delivered up to him. So serious was the opposition, that Cassius Longinus, the praefect of Syria, thought it necessary to come to Jerusalem himself with a strong force. However, Claudius, at the request of the younger Agrippa, acceded to the petition of Herod of Chalcis to have the custody of the vestments and the appointment to the High Priesthood delivered to him. At his death in A.D. 49 it was given to Agrippa II.[3] When, therefore, Paul appeared before Agrippa II., it was as though he defended himself before the secular head of the Jewish Church.

(1) Fadus.

(2) Tiberius Alexander.

Under Tiberius Alexander, the successor of Fadus, the disorders seem to have continued, as that procurator crucified the two sons of Judas of Galilee, James and Simon. Alexander was by birth a Jew, and afterwards stood high in favour with Vespasian and Titus; but he must have been hateful to the people, for, though the son of the famous alabarch of Alexandria, he deliberately apostatised from his ancestral religion.

[1] Acts v. 36 f. and *Antiq.* xx. 5. The first two sections of *Antiq.* xx. 5 contain a hasty summary of events of the procuratorships of Fadus and Alexander: (1) The rebellion of Theudas, (2) the famine and generosity of Helena, (3) the crucifixion of the sons of Judas, (4) the death of Herod of Chalcis, (5) a change of High Priests. From the mention of Judas of Galilee after Theudas it has been inferred that the speech of Gamaliel was composed after a hasty perusal of the chapter.

[2] *Antiq.* xxi. 1.

[3] *Antiq.* xx. 1. 3. See also xx. 5. 2 and 8. 8.

In the eighth year of Claudius, A.D. 48, Cumanus succeeded Tiberius Alexander in Judaea. The bitterness between the Jews and Romans was constantly increasing. At the Passover a soldier caused a riot by an unseemly gesture, and, if we are to believe Josephus, twenty thousand people were slain. Another soldier, when some villages were being plundered by way of reprisal for an act of robbery, tore in pieces a copy of the Law. Fearing that this would cause a sedition, Cumanus ordered the soldier to be beheaded.[1] A serious outbreak followed between the Galilaeans and the Samaritans, which demanded the intervention of Ummidius Quadratus, who presided over Syria, and ended in an appeal to Rome, which was decided in favour of the Jews, thanks to help given by Agrippa. Cumanus was banished, and his tribune (χιλίαρχος), Celer, publicly executed in Jerusalem.[2] The country, says Josephus, was now full of robber strongholds, and life and property were increasingly unsafe.[3] (3) Cumanus.

In A.D. 52, the twelfth year of Claudius, Felix, who has been immortalised by Tacitus in the stinging epigram that he exercised the power of a monarch with the heart of a slave, came to Judaea.[4] As brother of the powerful freedman Pallas, he had influence in Rome, and he sought to gain the favour of the Jews by marrying Drusilla, sister of Agrippa II. She was already the wife of Aziz, King of Emesa, who had consented to embrace Judaism; but Felix, with the assistance of a magician of Cyprus named Atomus, persuaded her to divorce her husband and to marry him, heathen as he was.[5] (4) Felix.

The long procuratorship of Felix was a time of increasing disorders; and though he appears to have acted promptly in dealing with the brigands, his severity only produced a greater evil in the rise of the Sicarii or Assassins. Josephus accuses Revolts under Felix.

[1] *B.J.* ii. 12. 1; *Antiq.* xx. 5. 3. 4.
[2] *B.J.* ii. 12. 3; *Antiq.* xx. 6.
[3] *Antiq.* xx. 6. 1.
[4] Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9.
[5] Felix, says Suetonius (*Claudius*, 28), became the husband of three queens. Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9, says that he married Drusilla, the grand-daughter of Antony and Cleopatra. According to Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 2, Atomus the magician was a Cypriot.

him of having introduced them into Jerusalem in order to murder the High Priest Jonathan, at whose request Felix had been made procurator; but they soon appeared as bitter enemies of the Romans, going to the feasts with short sickle-shaped knives concealed under their garments, and murdering those Jews whose devotion to the Law they considered doubtful. An Egyptian persuaded a crowd of fanatics to accompany him to the Mount of Olives, promising that the walls of Jerusalem would fall down and admit them to the city; and Felix sent his troops to disperse them, killing four hundred and taking two hundred captive; but the Egyptian managed to escape and disappear from view (ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο). Claudius Lysias, it will be remembered, thought that he had succeeded in capturing him when he rescued Paul from the mob in the Temple.[1] On this occasion the description of the riot, the fury of the populace, the formation of an association of more than forty men who vowed that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed Paul, is in complete accordance with the survey of the period in Josephus.

Jews unpopular in Caesarea.

At Caesarea, the capital of the province, the tension between the Jews and the other inhabitants was constantly increasing.[2] As usual, the wealth of the Jewish population was a cause of envy. It appears that the Jews provoked the quarrel; at any rate, riots ensued, and eventually the Jews, after the recall of Felix to Rome, sent to accuse him. This may account for the statement in Acts xxiv. 27 that "desiring to do the Jews a pleasure he left Paul bound." By the influence of Pallas, Felix was acquitted, and the Jews lost their case against the Gentiles of Caesarea. The growing unpopularity of the Jews among the neighbouring population was one of the chief causes of the outbreak of the subsequent war.[3]

(5) Festus.

Apparently Porcius Festus, the procurator who sent Paul to Rome, did his best to pacify the country; but the Sicarii in-

[1] *Antiq.* xx. 8. 6 and Acts xxi. 38. [2] *B.J.* ii. 13. 7; *Antiq.* xx. 8. 7.
[3] *Antiq.* xx. 8. 10. In *B.J.* ii. 14. 1 Josephus gives Festus a high character.

creased in numbers and audacity; whole villages were destroyed by their marauding bands. Another impostor who led a multitude into the wilderness was attacked and killed by Festus.[1] Festus died in office, and his successor Albinus inherited his troubles. At the outset he was met by a scandalous usurpation of authority by the High Priest Ananus. It appears from Josephus's account that on his appointment Ananus assembled the Sanhedrin and procured the condemnation of James, the brother of Jesus the so-called Christ (τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ), with some others, who were stoned. Albinus was indignant that Ananus had dared to assemble the Sanhedrin without his consent; and Agrippa immediately appointed Jesus, the son of Damnaeus, in place of Ananus.[2] It is interesting to remark that Agrippa, the great-grandson of Herod, true to the tradition of his house, never lost the favour of the Romans under Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, and his sons, Titus and Domitian. Under Albinus the Temple was finished. Only one more procurator was appointed, Gessius Florus, the last and worst. Within five years of its completion the magnificent House of the Lord was a charred and blackened ruin.

(6) Albinus.

(7) Florus.

The Christian Church in Jerusalem was naturally seldom in contact with the officials of the Empire; but even its silent growth was bound to attract the notice of the hierarchy who practically governed the city. The priesthood of the Temple had long formed the aristocracy of the nation, and for centuries, at any rate since the fourth century B.C., the High Priest had been the acknowledged head of Israel. Obscurity hangs over the rise of the hereditary priesthood in ancient Israel or even in Jerusalem before the Captivity; but it is certain that in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, and probably much earlier, the priestly pedigrees were carefully kept, and no one outside the family of Aaron was allowed to officiate in the Temple.[3] The High Priest occupied a unique position. According to the

The Priesthood of Jerusalem.

[1] *Antiq.* xx. 8. 10. [2] *Antiq.* xx. 9. 1.
[3] Ezra ii. 61-63; Neh. vii. 63-65.

priestly code, the office could be held by the head of the tribe alone as the official representative of Aaron, and the tenure expired only with his life. At what date this hereditary pontificate was instituted is doubtful; but it existed from the Return down to the days of Antiochus Epiphanes. At that time the wealth and prestige attached to the office caused several claimants to arise, and the last legitimate High Priest took refuge in Egypt and founded the temple of Leontopolis.[1] The Seleucid kings claimed the right of appointment; and the military chieftains of the priestly, but not High Priestly, family of Hasmon assumed the pontificate in the person of Jonathan, with the consent of the reigning sovereign, Alexander Balas.[2] Simon, John Hyrcanus, Aristobulus I., Alexander Jannaeus, Hyrcanus II., Aristobulus II., and Antigonus held it in succession, and Herod, when he became king, appointed his young brother-in-law, Aristobulus III., to the dignity. After his early death, Herod selected several priests, whom he deposed at will. Thus it came to pass that in the first century the High Priesthood was rarely held by any individual for long, and was transferred from family to family. As, however, has been the case in other priesthoods, the members of these families intermarried, and formed an inner circle of High Priestly houses among themselves. The immense wealth of the Temple was in their hands, and they controlled monopolies in connection with the sacrifices. Forming a close corporation, these chief priests (ἀρχιερεῖς), as they were called, were the real rulers in Jerusalem; and even Josephus, who belonged to their order, testifies to their rapacity and arbitrary acts.[3] They are dealt severely with by the indignant Talmudist of a later period.[4] The New Testament only mentions three of these High Priests by name: Annas,[5] Caiaphas,[6] and Ananias;[7]

[1] Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 3. 1-3. This was in the reign of Ptolemy VII. (Philometor), 182–146 B.C.

[2] Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 22 and 1 Macc. x. 20.

[3] *Antiq.* xx. 9. 4. [4] See below, p. 33.

[5] Luke iii. 2; John xviii. 13; Acts iv. 6.

[6] Matt. xxvi. 57; Luke iii. 2; John xviii. 13; Acts iv. 6.

[7] Acts xxiii. 2.

but, during the period covered by Acts, no less than eleven, if not twelve, reigned in Jerusalem.

High Priests from A.D. 6 to 66.

According to Josephus, Annas or Ananus, the son of Seth, was made High Priest by Quirinius after the deposition of Archelaus in A.D. 6.[1] When Valerius Gratus was made procurator at the accession of Tiberius in A.D. 14 he deposed Annas and appointed no less than four others to the office during his eleven years' tenure of the procuratorship. The last of these was Joseph Caiaphas.[2] It is a remarkable testimony to the general tranquillity of Judaea during Pilate's administration, as well as to the prudence of Caiaphas, that for more than eleven years no change was made. On Pilate's recall, Vitellius, the governor of Syria, deposed Caiaphas and put in his place Jonathan, the son of Ananus; and on a second visit to Jerusalem, on his way to attack Aretas, Vitellius again changed the High Priest by appointing Jonathan's brother Theophilus.[3] A year or so later, Agrippa I., who had received the tetrarchy of Philip with the title of king, and had been given the custody of the High Priestly garments, came to Jerusalem on his way to his new dominions. He deposed Theophilus in favour of Simon Cantheras, a son of Boetius, of the same family as the Alexandrian Simon,[4] whom Herod made High Priest when he married Mariamne, his daughter. A little later, finding Simon Cantheras unsatisfactory, Agrippa removed him, and tried to induce Jonathan to resume the office. But Jonathan refused, and suggested his brother Matthias,[5] whom Agrippa accepted. When Agrippa became king of the Jews on the accession of Claudius, he again visited Jerusalem and made a new High Priest, Elioneus, the son of Cantheras.[6] Agrippa died shortly afterwards, and when Fadus had in vain attempted to secure the right of appointment, Agrippa's brother, Herod of Chalcis, nominated Joseph, the son of Camei.[7] Before his death, the King of Chalcis once more

[1] *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 1. [2] *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 3. [3] *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 4. 5. 3.
[4] *Antiq.* xix. 6. 2. [5] *Antiq.* xix. 7. 4. [6] *Antiq.* xix. 8. 1.
[7] *Antiq.* xx. 1. 3, Ἰωσήπῳ τῷ Καμεί. The translation given above seems the most probable, though it of course is not certain.

exercised the power of removing the High Priest, giving the place to Ananias, the son of Nebedaeus.[1] During the administration of Felix, Agrippa II. bestowed the office on Jonathan, who was murdered by the Sicarii at the instigation, if we are to trust Josephus, of the procurator.[2] His successor was Ishmael ben Phabi. Ishmael was sent to Rome and detained there by Poppaea, so Joseph, surnamed Cabi, was nominated in his place.[3] On the appointment of Albinus, Agrippa again changed the High Priesthood by appointing Ananus, but afterwards deprived him for executing James the Just.[4] From this time to the outbreak of the Jewish war in A.D. 66, Agrippa II. appointed no less than three High Priests: Jesus, the son of Damnaeus, another Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, and Matthias, the son of Theophilus.

Constant change of priests.

It is worthy of notice that in this kaleidoscopic change of High Priests the procurators were less prone to make alterations than the Herods, and that the concession which the Romans made in giving the custody of the vestments into the hands of Jewish sovereigns did not do anything to secure the permanency of the High Priest's office as prescribed in the Law. The priests seem to have retired without complaint to make room for their successors. It is possible that in the later days of Jerusalem the office was more a position of profit than of influence, and that the changes may have been the result of pecuniary agreements.

The families of the High Priests.

Josephus and the Talmud are in complete accord regarding the bad character of the sacerdotal rulers during the last days of Jerusalem. Their oppression of the poor, their extortion, the poverty into which they suffered the poorer members of their own order to fall, their gluttonous habits, the luxury and even indecency of their dress, are all subjects of severe condemnation. The ancient law that the head of the religion should be an hereditary High Priest, holding his office for life by right divine, had become entirely impracticable. The office was given for brief periods by the Roman procuratory, and it is possible that a cer-

[1] *Antiq.* xx. 5. 2.
[2] *Antiq.* xx. 8. 5.
[3] *Antiq.* xx. 8. 11.
[4] *Antiq.* xx. 9. 1.

tain amount of bribery was practised to secure the office. But the patrons were, as a rule, careful to select as incumbents only members of certain wealthy families; and any one who had occupied the position was known as a High Priest, hence the plural ἀρχιερεῖς in the New Testament and Josephus, the equivalent being found in the Talmud.[1] The High Priests formed a close corporation, and their wealth and power made them very unpopular. In a very severe Rabbinic denunciation of the high-priestly families of Jerusalem four are mentioned: those of Boethus, Hanin (Annas, or Ananos), Cantherus, and Ishmael ben Phabi.[2]

The High Priest was assisted by a Council, known as the Sanhedrin, which, according to Josephus,[3] could not be assembled as a judicial court, without the consent of the procurator. The references in the New Testament imply that the High Priest had an inner council, consisting of Chief Priests and Rabbis, which debated matters before they were referred to the court of the Sanhedrin. The procedure of this court is described in the treatise of the Mishna called *Sanhedrin*. But this, being not earlier than the third century, represents an ideal state of things, and to regard it as having been in force in the first century, before the fall of Jerusalem, is precarious. The jurisdiction of the court, according to the Mishna, only extended to Israelites, and care was taken to secure the accused a fair trial, and not to punish him with unnecessary cruelty. The number of judges varied with the gravity of the case. Where it was a matter of life and death (judgment of souls), twenty-three were required. A tribe, a false prophet, and the High Priest could only be tried

The Sanhedrin.

[1] In Josephus the plural is found, *B.J.* iv. 3. 7. Ananus is called γεραίτατος τῶν ἀρχιερέων, and mention is made of the families from which the High Priests were chosen.

[2] Pesahim, 57*a*: "Woe is me because of the house of Boethos, woe because of their clubs; woe is me because of the house of Hanin, woe because of their whispering (secret machinations, or calumnies); woe is me because of the house of Kathros (Kantheras), woe because of their pens; woe is me because of the house of Ishmael ben Phabi, woe because of their fists. They are high-priests and their sons are treasurers and their sons-in-law are superintendents (of the Temple), and their servants beat the people with sticks."

[3] *Antiq.* xx. 9. 1.

by the full Sanhedrin of seventy-one. Every city with a population of a hundred and twenty, or, according to others, two hundred and thirty, might have its tribunal of twenty-three. The number seventy-one represented Moses and the seventy elders.[1] The High Priest might be a member of the court, but was subject to its jurisdiction ("the High Priest may judge, and is judged").[2] There is nothing said of his acting as president. The king could neither be summoned before it nor sit as a judge; but he had to obtain leave of the Sanhedrin before he declared war. In cases of money, card-players, usurers, those who traded in the Sabbatical year or betted on the flight of doves were forbidden to be judges or witnesses.[3] The testimony of near relatives was excluded. Witnesses were carefully tested by 'intimidation.' After a decision, thirty days were given the defendant that he might produce additional evidence.

Laws as to evidence.

In the Sanhedrin the judges were arranged in a semicircle, "like half a round threshing-floor," that all the judges might see one another's faces.[4] Three rows of disciples sat before them, to learn the procedure like the young Roman nobles in the Senate House. In a case of blood, the witnesses were severally examined. Hearsay evidence was rejected, collusion between witnesses was provided against. Each witness was warned of the terrible sin of bringing about the death of an innocent man. The witnesses were examined separately. Care was taken to elicit the strict facts. Day, month, year were all inquired into. Every judge who extended his examination was praiseworthy. If witnesses contradicted one another their testimony was invalid. When a sentence of acquittal was pronounced it might be given at once, but a night had to elapse before a verdict of guilty was given. In counting votes, the criminal was given the benefit of the doubt. Condemnation might not be pronounced on the day the trial concluded. All night the judges were to discuss the matter, and to fast and abstain from drink before they voted.[5]

[1] Numb. xi. 16; Mishna, *Sanhedrin*, i. 5. [2] *Sanhedrin*, ii. 2.
[3] *Sanhedrin*, iii. 3. [4] *Sanhedrin*, iv. 3. [5] *Sanhedrin*, vi. 5 and vii. 1.

II

THE SPIRIT OF JUDAISM

By C. G. Montefiore

The Jewish background of the Acts appears to be very different from that of the Synoptic Gospels. In the latter there is placed in strong and brilliant relief a great personality, who sees and condemns the defects of the religious teachers of his time. His life is placed in contrast with their life, and his teaching with their teaching. Upon the alleged contrast between him and them, a dark background can be built up. Their inadequacies supply material for the evangelist.

Synoptic Gospels and Acts. (*a*) Attitude to Jewish religion.

Very different is the atmosphere or the situation in Acts. The main question in dispute is the office and function of the dead Teacher—his recent resurrection, his present position in 'heaven,' his future work and administration upon the earth. The Jewish religion is hardly criticised at all. The religious ideas of the two contending parties, as distinguished from the one burning question, might almost be supposed to be the same. Thus, for instance, the alleged over-emphasis on the ceremonial, as opposed to the moral, enactments of the Law is hardly mentioned. To the Law as a burden, difficult or hopeless for the Jew to fulfil, except in one famous verse, there is hardly an allusion.[1]

On the other hand, the *mise-en-scène*, which in the Gospels

(*b*) Types of Judaism.

[1] Acts xv. 10. Acts xiii. 28, 29 hardly militate against the accuracy of this statement.

is so largely limited to the native Jew of Palestine, is greatly widened in the Acts. In the enlargement resides the crux of the situation, a burning question over and above the question of the supposed Messiah. In the Acts we are introduced at once to Palestinian Jews, to Hellenist Jews and to Jews of yet other types. We are also introduced to proselytes, *i.e.* full and practising members of the Jewish faith, though not Jews by birth. Lastly, we meet with heathen interested in Judaism as a monotheistic faith. It is in the attitude of the new branch of the old religion to this last group and to the Gentile world as a whole that the breach between the parent and the child is made definite. A certain chapter of Judaism, which was less important to the average Jew, is more so to the student of Acts. The average Jew of even A.D. 50 or 80 was not continually worrying about the future of the Gentile world, or about the duties of proselytising. Many other elements of his religion were to him of much greater consequence. But, as a part of the Jewish background of Acts, the relation of Judaism to the Gentiles beyond its pale becomes of peculiar significance. It thus comes to pass—and this is not the only instance—that the "Jewish interests" of a reader of Acts are special to that particular book. Care must, however, be taken to distinguish between the Jewish *background* of *Acts* and the Jewish *religion* in the years in which its story is set.

JUDAISM OF 350 B.C. AND A.D. 50 COMPARED.

Supposing one were to compare the Judaism of the year 350 B.C. with that of A.D. 50, what would be the fundamental difference? Not, I take it, in the conception of God or righteousness, not even perhaps of the Law itself. Here there would be developments or modifications; but the fundamental and far-reaching difference would be that in 350 B.C. the average Jew believed that, so far as any bliss or happiness was concerned (whether lower or higher), death was the end; whereas in A.D. 50 he believed that, for the righteous at any rate, the higher happiness would actually not be experienced till beyond the grave. The importance of the conception of a future life

(*a*) Future life.

and of the resurrection of the dead in Judaism can hardly be over-estimated. Gunkel observes rightly that these ideas materially changed the entire religion; they are so epoch-making that they divide the whole religious history of Israel into two sections: before them and after them.[1]

(b) Burden of the Old Testament.

A second important difference between 350 B.C. and A.D. 50, I think, *longo intervallo*, should be this. In 350 B.C. there was, outside the Law, scarcely any acknowledged corpus of Sacred Scripture; in A.D. 50 there was. Judaism in A.D. 50 had begun to suffer from the burden of an inspired and perfect book, of the authority of which its teachers were beginning to feel the overwhelming weight. When I read any early Rabbinic document, such as the *Mechilta*, I feel as if one advantage of Christianity over Judaism was that it made a fresh start. It is true it created an extra sacred canon of its own, while retaining the older; but this new canon was more homogeneous, and was all written within a short compass of time. The Old Testament goes back so far in time, it is so varied, so bulky! No doubt for students of religious history this adds to its interest and importance. But one sees the burden of it in Judaism. "Ye search the Scriptures."[2] Well might Jesus say this! They were searched and known all too thoroughly! For the Old Testament contains not only supreme and imperishable verities, but also much that was, in very sooth, already obsolete even long before A.D. 50. In other words, it was inconsistent with itself. These contradictions were not unperceived by Jewish teachers, who could not explain them as we happily can do to-day. For were they not all perfect and inspired? Were they not all the words of

[1] Kautsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, vol. ii. p. 370. Gunkel limits his statement to the idea of resurrection, but it would be safer to include all the various conceptions of the future life. His words, written about 1899, are: "Die Herkunft und Entstehung dieses Glaubens an die Auferstehung aus den Toten ist noch immer eine ungelöste Frage. Deutlich aber ist uns die ungeheure Bedeutung, die dieser Glaube in der Geschichte der Religion hat: er hat die ganze Religion des Judentums umgestaltet; dieser Glaube macht so sehr Epoche, dass darnach die ganze Religionsgeschichte Israels in zwei Teile zerfällt: vorher und nachher."

[2] John v. 39.

the living God? The hatreds of the hour may be forgotten when the hour has passed. "The Lord is good to all: the Lord is forgiving"; and should not man imitate his Creator? But the same Lord "hated Esau," and laughs at the destruction of His enemies. May not the child mimic the Father? It is wonderful that the developed Judaism of, say, A.D. 400 came out of this trial as well as it did; that it frequently explained away the bad by the good, and invented fresh conceptions in order to remove lower or obsolete ideas.[1]

(c) Conceptions of God.

Long before A.D. 50 the goal of monotheism had been attained. As to the *nature* of this One God, there would not seem to have been much difference of opinion between Jew and Christian in A.D. 50 or 90, nor can we say that the difference was great between prevailing Jewish ideas in 350 B.C. and A.D. 50. God was conceived as very 'personal,' and also as very distinct from the world which He had made. Isaiah's implication that God is 'spirit' and not 'flesh' was generally accepted. By A.D. 50 the anthropomorphisms of the Old Testament were already being explained as figurative. The average man, to whom the words were familiar, "Ye saw no manner of similitude; ye only heard a voice,"[2] had probably got beyond the idea that the form of God was like the form of man. The teachers of the first century had most certainly got beyond it. The omnipresence of God, as taught in Solomon's prayer or the 139th Psalm, was familiar to them, and there was even a tendency to refine the doctrine. It is inaccurate to suppose that God was regarded solely as 'transcendent': He is 'in' the world as well as 'outside.' By A.D. 50 there had been already created the conception of the Shechinah, which, especially as regards the divine relation to man, made God as near to every worshipper as any modern man could desire. To the first century is attributed the explanation why God revealed Himself in the lonely thorn bush. It was to teach that no spot

[1] It should be carefully observed that the "hatred" is limited to the enemies of the *Community*. It is noteworthy that the "imprecatory" Psalms never received a personal or private interpretation.

[2] Deut. iv. 12, 15.

upon the earth is empty of the Shechinah.[1] Yet it was finely perceived that God is in one sense only 'near' when His creatures are present, and ready to apprehend His nearness. It is they who, for practical purposes, turn His transcendence into immanence. Hence the doctrine that virtue, Israel, the Sanctuary, and the Law, all bring down God or the Shechinah from heaven to earth, while sin and idolatry remove Him. Yet the divine nearness realised by the Israelite through the Law did not interfere with the theoretic apprehension that God was not, like a human person, limited by any particular place. A later (third century) Rabbi declared that while the Mosaic Sanctuary was filled by the radiance of the Shechinah, the Shechinah was not limited by the Sanctuary. The sea rises and fills a cave of the shore with its water, but the sea itself is no smaller than before.[2]

(*d*) God and man.

From the Psalms onward, and throughout the Rabbinic period, there exists a distinct idea of the relationship of God to man as such. Man is God's special creation, for all men, not only Israel, were created in the image of God. The most fundamental verse in the Scripture, said R. Simon ben Azzai (second century), is, "These are the generations of Adam," for in this verse, with its reiteration of the creation of man in the divine image, are inculcated the unity and greatness of the entire human race.[3] God's goodness and mercy to mankind as such are often mentioned by the Rabbis. "Beloved is man," said Akiba, "for that he was created in the image."[4] "When man is worthy, they say to him, Thou wast created before the angels of the Service; when he is not, they say to him, Flies and gnats and worms were created before thee."[5] The Rabbis were not slow to grasp the various homiletic applications which could be made of the Biblical statement that all men were descended

[1] *Pesikta Cahana*, ed. Buber 2b; Wünsche, p. 3.

[2] Schechter, *Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, pp. 29-33, 48 and *passim*; *Pesikta C.*, ed. Buber 2b; Wünsche, p. 3.

[3] Siphra 89b on Lev. xix. 18; *Genesis R.* xxiv. *ad fin.*; Wünsche, p. 112; Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*, vol. i. (ed. 2), p. 417, n. 4, p. 422, n. 1.

[4] *Aboth*, iii. 21, ed. Taylor. [5] *Genesis R.* viii. 1; Wünsche, p 30.

from a single ancestor. It was done, they said, for the sake of peace among men, that one should not say to another, "My father was greater than thine." Or again, "It was done for the sake of peace, that the families of men should not fight with each other. If they do so even now with *one* ancestor, how much more would they have done so with *two*!" [1] But yet this general relationship of God to man is not what is commonly before their eyes. It tended to be submerged in both directions: it was neglected in favour of God's special relation to Israel: it was depressed by idolaters and enemies. Yet the Rabbinic Jew was still occasionally able to turn away his mind from the difference between Israel and the other races of the world, and such sentences as, "God is near to all His creatures: if they invoke Him, He puts His ear to their mouth," are not uncommon.[2] One gets in the Midrash odd mixtures of thought showing evidence of a certain inward struggle. The words of Psalm cxlv., "The Lord is good to all," which were constantly upon the lips of the Rabbis, gave them cause for reflection. Two things were sure: God *is* good to all, and yet almost all non-Israelites are idolaters and therefore sinners, oppressors, actual and potential, of Israel, and therefore enemies of God. "Hast thou ever seen," said R. Joshua, the son of R. Nehemiah, the Priest (fourth century), "the rain fall on the field of X who is righteous, and not on the field of Y who is wicked, or the sun shine upon Israel who are righteous, and not upon the nations who are wicked? God makes the sun shine both upon Israel and the nations, for He is good to all." [3] Very odd is the view of R. Ḥiyya bar Abba (second century) that the blessing of rain is even greater than that of the resurrection because the second applies only to men, and of them only to Israel, whereas the first extends to the beasts and the idolaters as well.[4]

[1] *Sanhedrin*, 37a, 38a.

[2] Schechter, p. 31; Schwab, *Jerusalem Talmud*, vol. i. p. 152.

[3] *Pesikta R.*, ed. Friedmann, p. 195, *a. ad fin.* Cf. the fine passage in the *Mechilta* on Exodus xviii. 12. Wünsche, p. 185, on the Shechinah feeding and satisfying all men, and even sinners and idolaters.

Bereshith R. xiii., Wünsche, p. 58.

The fact that Yahweh was both the one and only God of the whole world, and at the same time, in a very special and peculiar sense, the God of Israel, brought with it many consequences and many inconsistencies. These consequences and inconsistencies were, perhaps, even more acute and prominent in 50 and 90 A.D. than in 550 B.C. In the first century Jewish thought felt alternately inclined to draw in and to reject. On the one hand, there was a desire and a hope that all men should recognise and worship the God of Israel, and this not only, or even not so much, for their own sakes as for the glory of God and the glory of Israel. On the other hand, there was the desire that Israel should be freed from all domination and distress, and that vengeance and condign punishment should befall the idolater and the oppressor. The idea of God had not been brought to a complete harmony.

(e) God and the Gentiles: (1) idolatry.

One has to remember that the Jew was brought up in the belief that idolatry was not only error, but the most deadly sin. Thus he acquired the genuine conviction that all Gentiles, being idolaters, were sinners. Again, the average Jew, who knew little or nothing of the best side of Hellenism, noticed the unattractive side of the Gentile world, its oppression and injustice, its licentiousness and profligacy. The pious Jew between 350 B.C. and A.D. 90 was becoming stricter and severer as regards sexual relations. To him the heathen seemed steeped in sensuality, oppressors of the elect Children of God, incapable of keeping the simplest rules of morality. As such they would be at the last swept off the face of the earth by divine retribution. We can see the various causes which gave birth to the exaggeration of Paul in Rom. i. 18-32.

The actual position of the Gentile world gave Jewish teachers much food for thought. Their general views reveal occasional qualms of conscience. For the divine love for Israel, and the divine hatred of the idolater and the oppressor, have to be made consistent, *tant bien que mal*, with the divine righteousness and compassion. Thus we find the view constantly repeated that Israel's lesser sins are carefully and fully punished

in this world in order that it may receive the full beatitude of the world to come, while the minor and occasional virtues of the heathen are fully and carefully recompensed here in order that they may suffer more hereafter. It is true that here and there a Rabbi taught a nobler doctrine. There is a famous Rabbinical sentence, belonging to the second century, beloved by apologists, which declares that the righteous of all nations shall have a share in the world to come.[1] This in later Judaism became the generally accepted principle, but, in the earlier period, the prevailing view was: This world is the nations': here *they* have the good things. In the world to come the situation will be reversed. To *them* will be the suffering and the pain: to *us* the gladness and the joy.[2]

(2) Proselytes.

Concurrently, however, with this conception of the Gentiles, which, on the theoretic side, consigned them to perdition, and, on the practical side, fenced Israel off from social contact with them by dietary and other laws, went the wish among many wider spirits to attract them. Noble are the words of Hillel: "Love the creatures, and bring them nigh to the Torah." The story of Jewish proselytism in the first centuries, before and after Christ, is an intensely interesting one, but cannot be told here. Moreover the chapter in Schürer dealing with the subject, and Dr. Hirsch's article 'Proselytism' in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, are accessible to all students. The one is a complement to the other. The visions of the second Isaiah were never entirely forgotten. R. Eleazar (third century) declared that the reason why Israel was scattered among the nations was that proselytes might be added to it.[3] R. Eliezer ben Hyrkanos (first century), who was not very favourable to them, yet declared, "God says, I draw

[1] Tosefta, *Sanhedrin*, xiii. 2. The saying is from the mouth of R. Joshua ben Ḥananya, a pupil of R. Johanan ben Zaccai. Cf. Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*, vol. i. (ed. 2), p. 134, n. 2.

[2] Cf. *Baba Meṣia*, 33b; *Midrash Tillim*, iv. 8; Wünsche, i. p. 48, xcix. 1. ii. p. 96. I am inclined to think that the wicked referred to in *Bereshith R.* xxxiii. (*init.*), Wünsche, p. 142, are primarily not wicked Israelites, but the wicked 'nations.'

[3] *Pesaḥim*, 87b.

near, I do not repel, so do thou, if a man comes to thee, and wishes to be received, and if he comes with pure intent, bring him near, and do not repel him." [1] Abraham was always regarded as the type of the proselyte and as the great maker of proselytes. In this capacity, together with Sarah his wife, he meets us in the Rabbinical literature again and again. "The souls that they had gotten in Haran [2] are the proselytes whom Abraham made, for whoever makes a proselyte of an idolater, as it were, creates him anew." [3] Abraham was not circumcised till he was ninety-nine, so as not to shut the door upon proselytes.[4] Many are the passages, some quaint, yet beautiful, which praise the proselytes, and which ordain that nothing is to be done to slight them or to cause them shame. One of the best (of uncertain date) runs as follows. It must be premised that the late Hebrew word for proselyte is *Ger*, which in Biblical Hebrew means the 'foreign settler' (A.V. 'stranger'). Thus all the Pentateuchal injunctions about "loving the stranger" are applied by the Rabbis (from the first century) to the proselytes. Quoting Ps. cxlvi. 8, "The Lord loves the righteous," the Midrash observes:

"A man may wish to become a priest or a Levite, but he cannot, because his father was not one; but if he wishes to become righteous he can do so, even if he be a heathen, for righteousness is not a matter of descent. Thus it is written of Ps. xxxv. 19, 20, '*House* of Aaron and *House* of Levi,' but of them that fear God it says, 'Ye who fear the Lord, bless ye the Lord,' and it does not say, '*House* of those that fear the Lord.' For the fear of the Lord is not a matter of inheritance, but of themselves men may come and love God, and God loves them in return. Therefore it says: 'The Lord loves the righteous.'" [5]

We know that in the first century A.D. the number of full proselytes must have been considerable. This fact shows the

[1] *Mechilta* on Exodus xviii. 6; Wünsche, p. 183.
[2] Gen. xii. 5.
[3] *Genesis R.* xxxix. 14; Wünsche, p. 180.
[4] *Mechilta* on Exodus xxii. 20; Wünsche, p. 305.
[5] *Midrash Tillim* on Psalm cxlvi. 7; Wünsche, p. 245.

willingness, and even the desire, of many Jewish teachers to receive proselytes, and also the attraction of Jewish monotheism. For the full proselyte had, as it were, to become a member of the Jewish nation as well as of the Jewish faith. He had to follow all the ceremonial laws—including the Sabbath, the festivals and the irksome injunctions about food; and, above all, he had to submit to the painful rite of circumcision, for few and far between, if any, were the Jewish teachers who were willing to accept a proselyte on the basis of baptism alone, and without the covenant in the flesh.[1] It is therefore not surprising that besides the full proselytes there existed in the first century a number of semi-proselytes, of people, that is, who had renounced idolatry, forsworn idolatrous practices, who frequented the Synagogue upon Sabbaths and festivals, and hovered on the threshold of Judaism. These are the persons who are supposed by the Rabbis to observe the so-called seven Noachide laws which in their usual enumeration, besides (1) the prohibition to worship idols or (2) blaspheme the name of God, forbade (3) murder, (4) adultery, incest, and sodomy, (5) theft, ordained (6) the practice of justice (by the establishment of law courts), and included one semi-ritualistic and semi-humanitarian injunction, namely (7), the prohibition to eat flesh cut from a living animal. Those who observed these laws might find a place in "the world to come," but they were sometimes looked down upon as 'outsiders,' without the full courage of their convictions. It is still less surprising that both the half and the full proselytes were attracted in large numbers by the preaching of Paul and his followers. For here at last was a monotheistic religion, based upon a common faith, independent of birth, which demanded the practice of no national customs and outlandish rites. Here there was room for all; here there was equality, "neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free." Perhaps most surprising of all is the fact that in spite of

[1] *Yebamoth*, 46a. Cf. Dr. Emil Hirsch's article on Proselytes in *Jewish Encyclopaedia*.

Christianity, and in spite of the difficulties which Roman law, and afterwards Church law, put in the way of conversion to Judaism, a number of proselytes continued to dribble in, and that men and women were found willing to share with the Jew his persecution and degradation.

(3) Why the Law was given to Israel only.

We can observe, in some of the passages concerning proselytes in the Rabbinical literature, symptoms of the desire of Jewish teachers to justify the general attitude of Judaism towards the Gentile world. It is asked, Why was not the Law given by God to the whole human race, instead of to one people only, if its results are so beneficial? In the Old Testament period, the fact that the Law was entrusted to Israel only is merely mentioned as honourable to the nation;[1] but early in the Rabbinic era a feeling arose that the divine partiality needed explanation. A legend appears under different forms that the Law was offered to every nation in turn, but that all refused to receive it. Or, again, it is said that the nations did not even observe the Noachide Commandments, so that it would have been useless and absurd to offer them a far more elaborate code. One strange passage in the *Mechilta* tells how God revealed Himself to the sons of Esau, and asked them, "Will you receive the Law? They said, What is written in it? He said to them, Thou shalt not murder. They said, That is the inheritance which our father left to us, as it is said, By the sword shalt thou live." So the sons of Ammon are told that the Law contains the command, Thou shalt not commit adultery, the sons of Ishmael that it contains the command, Thou shalt not steal, and they each, on similar grounds, refuse to receive it.[2]

(4) Traces of liberality.

Again, it is pointed out that the Law was given in the desert, given openly, and in a place that belonged to nobody in particular, because if it had been given in Palestine, the Israelites could have said to the nations, "It is *our* property, and you have no share

[1] Ps. cxlvii. 20.
[2] *Mechilta* on Exodus xx. 2; Wünsche, p. 208.

in it." But now "it is common property; whoever will accept it, let him come and accept it."[1] A very striking legend is put into the mouth of R. Ḥanina bar Papa (third century). "At the last judgment God will summon all the converts before Him, and will judge the nations in their presence. He will say to them, Why have you rejected Me, and why do you serve idols in whom is no reality? They will say, Lord of the world, if we had come to Thy gates, Thou wouldst not have received us. Then God will say to them, Let the proselytes come and testify against you."[2] These legends are doubtless later than our period, but they are only the culmination of tendencies which had started at least as early as the first century.

On the whole, however, we find that national and religious prejudices prevented the free development of the conception of a completely impartial God. Israel is oppressed by the heathen; and reacts humanly towards the oppressor. He cannot pay him back in deed; he can only pay him back in words and theory. God also partakes of the infirmities of His people; and, in the days to come, He will repay to the nations what His people have suffered at their hands.

But it must also be observed that with this inadequate and defective universalism there went a certain striking and peculiar broad-mindedness. It showed a fine insight into essentials to rise to the view that "mere Theism," the acknowledgment and worship of God, together with the following of the simplest and broadest rules of morality, constituted an adequate passport for the future life and for salvation. If we compare such a view with the idea that salvation largely depends upon the belief in a number of theological subtleties, we cannot but be struck with the difference. The advantage of modernity rests here with the Rabbis. The simplicity and broadness of their views is reflected in the familiar adage of R. Joḥanan (third century), "He who refrains from idolatry is a Jew."[3]

[1] *Mechilta* on Exodus xix. 2; Wünsche, p. 193.
[2] *Pesikta Rabbathi*, p. 161a.
[3] *Megilla*, 13a.

We may also perceive in the most violent utterances against the nations a deep and genuine detestation of idolatry, a real and vivid conviction that monotheism and morality are as inseparable as are idolatry and the grosser sins. From this point of view, the hatred of the heathen was not merely a hatred of the oppressors, but a hatred of their vices, whether exaggerated or real.

(*f*) God's relation to Israel.

On the whole, the conception of God's relation to the Israelite in A.D. 40 or 90 was very much the same as in the Psalter. God is just and righteous; He punishes as well as rewards; but His justice is surpassed by His compassion. If, in repentance, man will advance towards Him an inch, God in loving forgiveness will run to meet him an ell. (This last simile is familiarly Rabbinic.)

(1) Direct intercourse with God.

It is often supposed that, in the days of the second Temple, God became more and more transcendent, and that He only dealt with man through the agency of angels. The development of 'angelology' is regarded as a symptom of extreme theoretic transcendence and of practical religious 'distance.' As regards the Apocalyptic writers, there may be something in this idea; as regards the Rabbis, from the earliest to the latest, it is a delusion. Doubtless angels were believed in—any number of them—but they are very rarely spoken of as mediators between God and man. For once that the Rabbis of the first century mention an angel, a hundred times they mention God. It is God who does the hearkening and the caring and the helping. The angels play a secondary part and, indeed, show less affection and concern for man than the Holy One who is their Lord and man's Lord, their creator and his. God and Israel are united together by means of the Law, and the Law is the direct gift of God. Dr. Charles has said, "In New Testament times the ministry of angels has become the universal means of approaching or hearing from God." A reversion to an older view by the Rabbis is said to be due to hostility to Christianity.[1] These are very

[1] *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. ii. p. 13

doubtful statements. Apocalyptic writers may obtain their revelations by means of angels. The ordinary Rabbinic Jew approached God directly, and felt His answer in the heart. So far as there was any mediation at all, the mediator was not an angel, but the Law. Above all, God never needed an angel to tell Him what man was saying. The passages from the Midrash which Dr. Charles quotes as a 'reversion' might have been written in the first century as well as in the fourth or fifth: "The woman in childbirth, the sea-farer, those who journey through the wilderness, the prisoners in the gaol, those who are in the east or the west, the north or the south—God hears them all at once." Such a passage would have been as much a commonplace to Hillel as to Shammai, to Johanan ben Zaccai as to Akiba.[1]

(2) Mercy and justice combined.

Just as the Psalmists, so too the early and later Rabbis speak constantly about the righteousness and justice of God, and of His mercy and lovingkindness. Like the Psalmists they held that His mercy outstripped or exceeded His justice, but nevertheless they did not allow their belief in God's mercy and in His love of Israel to carry them to unethical extremes. Reflexion increased in the first century, and in the third quarter of it came the catastrophe of the Fall of Jerusalem and the Destruction of the Temple. But neither these awful events nor the horrors of the Hadrianic War were able to destroy the conviction of God's goodness and compassion. Even the Psalmists are naïvely conscious of an antagonism between divine justice and mercy. In the Rabbinic development this consciousness becomes more acute, yet a harmony is sought by making God reason about them Himself, or by making the two attributes fundamental aspects of the divine nature. Both divine justice and divine mercy are necessary for the due maintenance of humanity. A very curious passage in the Midrash of uncertain date explains the Rabbinic view. "Like a King who had some empty goblets and said, If I pour in hot water they will burst, if I pour in

[1] *Exodus R.* xxviii. 4; Wünsche, p. 208.

cold water they will shrink. What did the King do? He mixed the cold water with the hot, and poured it in, and the goblets remained unhurt. So God said, If I create the world with the attribute (literally, measure) of mercy, its sins will become great; if I create it with the attribute of justice, how can it endure? I will create it with both; oh that it may endure!"[1] God is declared to have two thrones, the throne of justice and the throne of mercy, and this idea appears to be at least as old as Akiba.

Two reasons prevented the complete moralisation of the divine character. The first was the hatred of the idolater and of Israel's oppressors: the second was the overwhelming authority of the Old Testament, which occasionally encouraged a lower conception of God as wrathful and vindictive to rise into consciousness. So far as Israel generally, the 'Noachide' Gentiles, and *all* repentant sinners were concerned, the tendency was to ignore these lower conceptions or to explain them away, but in the case of unrepentant idolaters and oppressors, or even unrepentant Israelite sinners and apostates, they were still utilised and accepted. It is curious to observe how the higher views struggle with the lower; yet the general tendency of the three hundred years between 50 B.C. and A.D. 250 is unquestionably in the direction of conceiving God as more merciful, fatherly, and gracious, even despite the awful occurrences of the Fall of Jerusalem and the Hadrianic revolt.

How far did these events otherwise affect the conceptions of God's relation to man and of man's relation to God? It has already been implied that, so far as God's relation to man is concerned, the ruin of the nation had no permanently bad result. The ideas of God's compassion, equity, and love prevailed and developed. Yet doubtless, in the early days of the agony, there were those who, as in the Psalms, cried out, "How long? Has God no pity? Does He exact the uttermost farthing of punishment?" In 4 Esdras we see this tendency in both directions.

[1] *Genesis R.* xii. *ad fin.*; Wünsche, p. 57.

God is conceived as unpitying; all Gentiles and most Jews go to perdition; few indeed are those who enter the life of beatitude in the world to come. And the reason is that goodness for the ordinary man is virtually impossible. The "malignant heart," the "leaven in the dough," the *Yeṣer ha-Raʿ*, is too strong. But for the relation of God to man, 4 Esdras (A.D. 90) is not representative even of its own age, and still less of the Judaism of, say, A.D. 200. Like Paul, it ignores the whole doctrine of repentance and the Day of Atonement: it makes God just and pitiless, instead of just and merciful. It teaches that, even as regards the Israelites, the number of admissions to the happy world to come will be very small, whereas the Rabbinic tendency was to open the gates of heaven wide, and to exclude from its beatitudes, and from the joys of the resurrection life, only the gravest, unrepentant, or falsely repentant sinners.

(*g*) The relation of Israel to God.

We pass to the relation of man, or rather of the Israelite, to God. Here brevity becomes exceedingly difficult. It is often supposed that between 100 B.C. and A.D. 100 the Law tended to make the Israelites' attitude towards God one of fear; whilst His partiality towards His own people fostered an unjustifiable sense of self-righteousness. There is, however, good reason to believe that the general result of the prevailing teaching was a tolerably successful 'mean' between these 'extreme' defects.

(1) God's awfulness.

It is true that God never lost His awfulness, and that man was counselled to fear as well as to love Him. It is unnecessary to lay any stress on the fact that in the opening *Amidah* prayer —certainly older than Acts—God is called "great, mighty, and awful"; for in the very same breath He is called "the bestower of loving-kindnesses." In a scarcely less ancient prayer His great love and abundant pity are invoked at the beginning. He is called "Our Father, pitiful Father, who has chosen His people Israel in love." [1]

The "logic of events" tended to prevent the divine love for Israel being used as an excuse for moral carelessness. For if

[1] *Authorised Prayer Book*, ed. Singer, p. 39.

the horrors inflicted by Titus and Hadrian did not imply an impotent or unjust God, did they not imply a very sinful Israel and an exceedingly exacting God, whose judgment in the life to come might easily be worse than death? "Fear him," said Jesus, "who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell. Fear him who, after he has killed, has power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, Fear him." Similarly, we have the often-quoted death-bed scene of R. Johanan ben Zaccai. When his disciples visit him, he weeps. When they ask the reason, he replies: "If they were about to bring me before a king of flesh and blood, who is here to-day and in his grave to-morrow, whose wrath, if he be angry with me, is no eternal wrath, whose bonds are no eternal bonds, whose death, if he kill me, is no eternal death, whom I might soften with words and bribe with money, nevertheless I might weep: but now that they bring me before a King, who is the King of Kings, who is eternal, whose wrath, etc., should I not weep? Moreover, two ways are before me, one leads to Paradise, and one to Hell, and I do not know along which way they will make me go—should I not weep?" [1]

A similar gloom seems to have disturbed the soul of R. Gamaliel, who, whenever he read the verse, "He that doeth these things shall never be moved," was also stirred to tears. Another version of the same story represents him as weeping for a similar reason whenever he read Ezekiel xviii. 6, 7. R. Akiba, however, comforted him by ingenious exegetical devices, the point of which was to show that a man might expect to be accepted by God if he fulfilled, not all the conditions of the passages in question, but any one of them. The view which underlay Akiba's exegesis was more frequent, prevailing, and characteristic than the view that was expressed in Gamaliel's tears. The Commandments were given—such is the regular doctrine—for life and not for death. The burden is adjusted by God's grace to the capacity of the bearer.[2] Though

[1] *Berachoth*, 28b.

[2] *Sanhedrin*, 81a; Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*, vol. i. p. 88 (ed. 2).

the Temple was destroyed, the love of God for Israel remains. The Day of Atonement—the sign and vehicle of God's pity—remains also. "Happy are ye," said Akiba, "before whom do ye purify yourselves? Who purifies you? Your Father who is in heaven, as it is said, I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be pure."[1] So too R. Joḥanan ben Zaccai comforted R. Joshua as they gazed together on the ruins of the Temple. "Woe to us, said Joshua, for the place, whereat the sins of Israel were atoned, lies waste." Joḥanan replied: "Be comforted, we have still a means of atonement which is equal to the Temple, and that is the practice of deeds of love, for it is said, I require love and not sacrifice."[2] It was teaching such as this which enabled Judaism to recover from, and, in some ways, to be religiously all the better for, the catastrophe of the destruction of the Temple.

(2) God's love

It was not denied that the Fall of Jerusalem was caused by Israel's sin. But, at the same time, there was no doubt of God's love as well as of God's justice. It was the doctrine of the future life and of the world to come which solved the puzzle. The average Israelite was not afraid to die on account of what might happen to him hereafter. On the contrary, the sore troubles and the ruin, the martyrdoms and the persecutions, were intended thoroughly to punish and purify the Israelites in this world, so that they might the more assuredly enjoy the beatitude of the next. In this sense sufferings could be regarded as an evidence not only of God's justice, but also of His love. The Rabbinic doctrine—already well fledged in the first century—is precisely what the ordinary reader is familiar with in the Wisdom of Solomon. "If in the sight of men they are punished, their hope is full of immortality. Having borne a little chastening, they shall receive great good." For what is any torture in time compared to full beatitude in Eternity?

Rabbinic Religion.

But further, where the Rabbinic religion achieved special success

[1] *Yoma*, 85b. (Mishna, viii. *ad fin.*)

[2] *Aboth R. Nathan*, iv. p. 11a, ed. Schechter; Pollak, p. 33 (*fin.*).

was that it not only used to the full the hope of the future, but did not despair of this life even amid its gloom and its sorrows. Earthly life was not a *mere* hard and mournful preparation for another. It had its own peculiar joys. That this excellent result was achieved was due to the Law.

(*a*) Repentance.

The relation of man to God was kept permanently hopeful by the progressive stress laid upon the doctrine of repentance.[1] There is good reason to believe that the doctrine was well known to Rabbinic teachers as early as the first century, even though the finest and tenderest passages about it may belong to a later date. It is therefore the more notable that it is found neither in 4 Esdras nor in the Pauline literature. The general Rabbinic view was that no sinner, however great, except perhaps the apostate, the heretic, or the informer, would, if he repented, be shut out from the divine forgiveness. The God who received Manasseh's repentance would receive almost anybody's! Possibly the heretic could not be forgiven because he was incapable of repentance. No time is too early or too late for repentance. It is God's chosen method of dealing with the sinner. If you ask Wisdom what is the punishment of sinners, Wisdom replies, "Evil shall pursue them." If you ask Prophecy, Prophecy replies, "The soul that sins shall die." If you ask the Law, the Law replies, "Let the sinner bring a sacrifice, and find atonement." But if you ask God, God replies, "Let the sinner repent." Let a man stand and blaspheme God in the street, and God will yet say to him, "Repent before Me, and I will receive you."[2]

(*b*) Origin and nature of sin.

In the Old Testament the doctrine of sin is not very fully worked out. How far is sin always man's fault? How far is it the fault of his parents and ancestors? How far is it God's fault? Theoretic speculations about sin are almost absent; but throughout the Old Testament period there is generally a very healthy and vigorous sense of human responsibility. Man need

[1] Cf. C. Montefiore in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xvi., January 1904, pp. 209-257.

[2] *Pesikta C.* xxv. 158b; Wünsche, p. 227.

not have sinned, had he not chosen to do so. Sin therefore is man's fault. Only rarely do we hear voices which say that man not only suffers for his parents' sins, but that he is so frail that he is almost bound to fall into sin himself. Only at the end of the Old Testament period do speculations become rife. We get the doctrine of man's hereditary tendency to sin, of "the evil heart" or inclination so strong within him that he cannot free himself from its malignancy. The question is, Why did God give him his body with its passions, and with this inclination towards evil?

Here it is only possible to touch upon these matters in barest outline. The general line of development was in accordance with conceptions which have already come before us. God is just: man is sinful, but yet he can master his sinful inclinations. God is not only just, but loving and merciful: and if, for reasons into which the Rabbis scarcely ventured to inquire, God has created man frail, He has also given him (or at least Israel) the means of overcoming his frailty. If God punishes sin, He also helps to vanquish it. And if He punishes sin, He also rewards goodness.

It cannot be said that much use is made of the fact that the deliberate sin of Adam transmitted moral frailty to his descendants. The *results* of the "evil inclination," rather than theories as to its *origin*, are mainly insisted upon. And this seems as true for the first century—the age of Acts—as for any subsequent period (cp. II. Baruch, liv. 19).

Nor was "the evil tendency" often associated with the body. It is true that the soul as it enters the body is generally conceived as pure. "The soul which thou gavest me was pure," says a daily prayer at least as old as Acts.[1] But of any Platonic attack upon the body there is little to be found. The "evil inclination" dominates the man as a whole, and in a well-known apologue both soul and body are held responsible for the sins which they have helped each other to commit. This world is

[1] *Authorised Jewish Prayer Book*, ed. Singer, p. 5.

not evil because it is material: as God's creation it is essentially good. Nor is the body evil because it is material. It is only the seat of sin because it is the framework, or covering, of the personality, the 'heart,' the individual.[1]

(c) Reward and punishment.

An immense portion of the area covered by the relation of God and man must, in the Rabbinic religion, no less than in the entire Old Testament, be assigned to the doctrine of reward and punishment. This doctrine colours the whole of Old Testament religion in the attitude of man towards his God; and what we have to ask is, How far were Old Testament ideas being modified in the first century after Christ? Perhaps nowhere more than here did the doctrine of the future life and of the world to come cause change —not always of statement, but of stress—by bringing a particular point to the front.

God is not only the Father, He is also the Ruler and the Judge of man. According to the human analogy of all these offices, God must inevitably punish and reward. Moreover, according to the Jewish mind, requital was deeply ingrained in the whole scheme of things. Exceptions there might be, but these were more apparent than real. The most solemn and the most true adage in the world was "measure for measure." "All measures shall pass away, but measure for measure shall never pass away." The Rabbinic uses of the word *Middah*—Measure, Attribute, Quality—form a chapter in themselves.

There is a fine series of paradoxes in the Midrash, according to which the words of Genesis i. 25, 31, "it was good" and "it was very good," are applied to various pairs the reverse way from what one might expect. Thus the Good Inclination is good, the Evil Inclination is very good. Paradise is good, Gehenna is very good. The angel of life is good; the angel of death is very good. R. Huna (third century) said, "The good measure (*i.e.* the measure of reward) is good; the

[1] *Berachoth*, 10a; *Sabbath*, 152b; *Niddah*, 30b (*fin.*); *Sanhedrin*, 91a (*fin.*), 91b (*init.*); *Leviticus R.* xxxiv. 3; Wünsche, p. 235. Cf. Porter's essay on the *Yeṣer ha-Raʿ*, pp. 98-107.

measure of chastisements (or sufferings) is very good. For through sufferings the 'creatures' attain to the life of the world to come." [1]

God punishes and rewards. The ideas of retribution and requital still hold good: they are intensely believed in. Calamity is still, to a large extent, explained as the consequence of sin. When Israel does the will of God, the nations cannot harm him: when he does not fulfil God's will, they chastise him. And so on. Moreover, the doctrine of measure for measure is painfully and mechanically elaborated, and we find (as early as the first century) much miserable argument about such and such calamities visiting mankind because of such and such iniquities. Nonsense of this kind still degrades some pages of the orthodox Jewish prayer book.[2] Again, as in the Wisdom of Solomon, we are told that God makes the punishment fit the crime. In the limb with which men sin they are punished. And so on, and so on. It is kinder to draw a veil over the details, and to allow them to rest in a dusty obscurity, from which only a student of the weaknesses and follies of mankind need, now and again, drag them forth to the pillory in the hard, clear light of knowledge and of truth.

But these exaggerations and even perversions of Old Testament doctrine are only one part of the development. There are other parts more pleasant. Calamity and suffering may be punishment, but they may also be purification.

(1) Purification by suffering.

The calamities of Israel are mainly sent to purify the people, in order that they may be prepared for the "world to come"; whilst the sins of the Gentiles are so great that they cannot be adequately punished here. If they prosper in this world, it is, as we have seen, part of God's dispensation that Israel should atone for its shortcomings here, and the Gentile world for its crimes hereafter. Thus the famous verse in Proverbs, "Whom the Lord loves He chastens," is emphasised. "The chastenings of

[1] *Bereshith R.* ix. *fin.*; Wünsche, pp. 38, 39.

[2] *Authorised Prayer Book*, ed. Singer, p. 121. Cf. *Aboth*, v. 11-14, ed. Taylor.

love " is a familiar phrase in the Rabbinical writings. " Beloved are sufferings," says Akiba, and the statement is repeated again and again. And Akiba added, " Be not like the heathen, for they, when good comes to them, honour their gods, and when punishment comes, they curse them, but you, when God sends you good, give thanks, and when He sends you sufferings, give thanks likewise." Man should rejoice in his sufferings even more than in his prosperity, for suffering wins him the forgiveness of his sins. Three good things have come to Israel through suffering only: the Law, the land of promise, and the world to come. He who rejoices in his sufferings brings salvation to the world. What a change from the days of Job's friends or even of Job. One Rabbi said, " He who passes forty days without suffering has already received his future ' world ' upon the earth." [1]

(2) Vicarious suffering.

There are also other qualifications to the view that suffering is sent from God as a punishment for sin. The righteous may suffer vicariously. Death is a form of suffering, and the death of the righteous exercises an atoning force. This idea occurs frequently. " As the Day of Atonement atones, so does the death of the righteous atone." In one passage it is said that there are Israelites who unite knowledge of the Law with good works; some have the former, but lack the latter; some the latter without the former; some lack both. God says: Are these to be lost? No. All the classes are to form a single bundle, and the one are to atone for the other. Why has God created the sinner and the righteous? That the one should atone for the other. Why did He create heaven and hell? That the one should deliver the other.[2] The idea of solidarity was well understood. A national calamity of necessity befalls the righteous as well as the wicked, and in national sorrows every one must bear his share. " The Rabbis teach that when Israel is in distress, and an Israelite separates himself from the community, the two

[1] Cf. *Sanhedrin*, 101a; *Mechilta* on Exodus xx. 23; Wünsche, pp. 227, 228; *Taanith*, 8a; *Arachin*, 16b; Schechter, *Studies in Judaism* (Series I.), p. 275, and the passages there quoted.

[2] Cf. *Pesikta C.* 174b, 185a, 191a, 191b; Wünsche, pp. 254, 269, 282, 283.

angels of the Service who accompany man come and lay their hands upon his head, and say, This man, who has separated himself from the community, shall not see its consolation." "When the community is in distress, a man must not say, I will go home and eat and drink, peace be unto thee, O my soul; but a man must share with the community in its distress, like Moses, and then he is worthy to see its consolation." [1]

It is part of the realism of Rabbinic Judaism that, in spite of the doctrine of the future world and all its glories, death is almost always conceived as a form of chastisement. That is why, like suffering, it atones, whether for the sins of him who dies, or for the sins of others. But a verse in Isaiah (lvii. 1) was happily in existence to hinder the odious idea that early death was a punishment for sin from becoming too dominant. It may be that God knows that a man would, if he lived, fall into sin, and so God removes him from earth while he yet perseveres in his righteousness.[2]

(3) Death and future life.

The doctrine of the world to come was sufficient to prevent faith in God from suffering shipwreck, however puzzling the events of earth. It also prevented the too unquestioning adoption of the doctrine of measure for measure. Men were able to say, "We cannot understand the prosperity of the wicked, still less the sufferings of the righteous, but we trust in God." Significant is the story about Akiba. Moses is told by God of Akiba's wondrous knowledge, and how he will teach heaps and heaps of injunctions (Halachoth). Moses asks to see him, and is vouchsafed a vision of Akiba and his students. After some further conversation, Moses says to God, "Thou hast shown me his (knowledge of the) Law; show me now his reward." Then the vision changes, and Moses sees 'them' weighing Akiba's flesh in the butcher's shop. Then Moses says: "For such knowledge of the Law is *this* the reward?" "Silence," replies God, "so I have determined." [3]

[1] *Taanith*, 11a. [2] *Ecclesiastes R.* vii. 15 (*init.*); Wünsche, p. 103. [3] *Menahoth*, 29b.

Reward, like punishment, is still generally regarded as the result of righteousness. But the more righteous a man is, the more fitting it is that his reward should be reserved for the hereafter. The wicked are rewarded in this world for the 'lightest' commands which they fulfil; they are punished in the next world even for the 'lightest' sins which they commit. The righteous are punished in this world for the lightest sins which they commit; they are rewarded in the next world for the lightest commands which they fulfil. This view was maintained by Akiba, and is general.[1] A curious if not very pleasing remark is attributed to the son of R. Ṣadok (first century). His father was cured of some malady by Vespasian's doctors, and the son said, "Father, give them their reward in this world, that they may not share thine in the world to come."[2]

Nevertheless, the doctrine of reward underwent many concurrent modifications, but it is almost impossible to consider these without bringing in the Law as the all-pervading influence extending to every conception of religion.

THE LAW.

(a) Joy in the Law.

The strength of the legal system was due to two influences, closely connected with each other. The first was the love of God, the Giver of the Law; the second was the joy in the Commandments. To some extent the very particularism of the Rabbinic religion, which makes it less attractive to us moderns, added strength to its legalism. The Law was the sign of God's love for Israel; He had not given them a burden, but a glory. Every command, as one fulfilled it, was a reminder of that gracious love, that affectionate, and yet ethical, nearness. And here is another odd point. When a man gave alms to the poor, he fulfilled a law of the first magnitude; so, too, when he visited the sick, comforted the mourner, rejoiced with the bridegroom and the bride. Charity and benevolence are the marks of the Israelite: he who has not compassion and

[1] *Leviticus R.* xxvii. 1; Wünsche, p. 183.
[2] *Lamentations R.* i. 5; Wünsche, p. 68.

shame is no child of Abraham. Nevertheless, even a heathen might on occasion be charitable. When, however, a man affixed a *Mezuzah* to his new house, he was doing something which no Gentile ever did or could possibly do. This partook of the nature of a delightful secret between him and his heavenly Father. Take the analogy of a family on earth, where father and mother are intensely beloved. In such a family there may be a number of little customs and rules—how to sneeze, where to put the salt-cellar on the table, how to arrange the father's dressing-room or the mother's work-box—which are only known to the parents and the children. With what delight do the children observe these regulations! With what happy memories they are associated! How each vies with the other to do them well! How many a laugh goes with the doing of them! Never do they become stale, never wearisome, never absurd. It was something of this sort that cropped up among the Jews as regards their relations to the Law and to God. Obviously not all could have felt so. Not all persons love God to-day: not all persons loved Him then. To those who did not love Him the rules might be a burden or a nuisance, inexplicable ordinances of an omnipotent Deity, whose odd and freakish commands must be sadly obeyed lest worse should befall. But to lovers every order of the Beloved is dear: in gladness and delight are His injunctions fulfilled. No more characteristic Rabbinic phrase than that of the "joy of the Commandments": *Simhah shel Misvah*. The attitude or preparation for prayer must not be one of laziness or sorrow or lightness or jesting, but that of "gladness in the Commandment."[1] To rejoice, and cause others to rejoice, is the *ne plus ultra* of religious obedience. First, purification: then joy; for the second was supposed to indicate a higher stage of religious development than the first. "Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament." It would not be true to say that prosperity is the blessing of the Rabbinic religion. But the touch of happiness remains, and Paul's insistent 'rejoice'

[1] *Berachoth*, 31a, *et saep.*

is the most Rabbinic thing about him. The joy is no longer now in mere outward material objects, though the worth of these is not denied. The joy is in the Law, and even in the performance of the most trifling *Misvoth.*

(*b*) Fear and Love.

Already in the Old Testament there is a double relation of man to God: fear and love. The same double relation was maintained all through the Rabbinic period, and not only maintained, but developed. Fear is not cast out because of love, but both love and fear become more conscious and distinct. It is noticeable in Sirach how the love and fear of God are used almost interchangeably. The writer seems hardly conscious that there could be any opposition between them. In the Rabbinic period, the implications of the two, or the possible contrariety, are realised perfectly well. Love is consciously and deliberately declared to be higher than fear, but fear is not to be altogether abolished. One passes from fear to love, but even when love is attained, one should not wholly reject fear. That God punishes sin must never be entirely forgotten. We have already compared the view of Jesus as given in Matthew x. 28 and Luke xii. 4. So R. Mattai the Arbelite (second century) said, "Grow not thoughtless of retribution." And this is interpreted to mean: A man should fear every day. He is to say, Woe is me, perhaps punishment may reach me to-day or to-morrow. When he is prosperous, he is not to say, Because I have deserved it, God has given me food and drink in this world and the 'stock' awaits me in the hereafter; but he is to say, Woe is me, perhaps only one single 'merit' has been found in me. He has given me food and drink here that He may deprive me of the world to come.[1] One would make a mistake if one were to interpret such a passage as indicating a persistent attitude of anxious and trembling scrupulosity, of never-ending and persistent apprehension. A passage such as this must be taken with a due recollection of oriental picturesqueness and exaggeration. Nevertheless, it shows that

[1] *Aboth R. Nathan*, ix. (*fin.*) 21b; Pollak, p. 52 (but incorrectly rendered).

fear was still maintained. R. Jehudah b. Tema (second century) said, "Love and fear God! Tremble and rejoice in the fulfilment of the Commandments." An early Talmudic passage quotes the two Biblical commands, "Love God and fear God," and continues thus: "Execute the divine injunctions in love and in fear. If thou shouldst be inclined to hate (any law), know that thou art a lover, and no lover hates: if thou shouldst be inclined to despise (any law), know that thou fearest, and no fearer can despise."[1] The difference between those who serve from fear and those who serve from love is often discussed in the Talmud. Did Job, for instance, serve God from fear or from love? R. Meir (second century) tried to combine the two, and said that both Job and Abraham's fear of God was "out of love." Well known is the passage which enumerates the seven classes of Pharisees, the last and highest of which is the Pharisee from Love. In the Jerusalem Talmud it is immediately followed by the famous description of the death of Akiba, which bears repetition: "Akiba was being punished before Turnus Rufus, and the hour drew nigh for saying the Shema. He began to say it, and he laughed. Then Rufus said, Old man, thou art a sorcerer, or thou despisest thy sufferings. Akiba said, Calm thyself. I am no sorcerer, nor do I despise my sufferings (for this too would have been a sin), but all my life when I read this verse, 'And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy might,' I was grieved, for I said to myself, when will all three be within my power? I have loved Him with all my heart and with all my might, but to love Him with all my soul (=life) was not assured to me. But now that 'with all my soul' has come, and the hour of saying the Shema has arrived, and my resolution remains firm, should I not laugh? He had not finished speaking when his soul fled away." The reader will not fail to notice that the most exalted idealism is inextricably involved with the most careful legalism. That is Rabbinism

[1] *Aboth R. Nathan*, xli. 67a, ed. Schechter; Pollak, p. 141: Jer. *Berachoth*, ix.; Schwab, i. p. 169.

all over. But Akiba was not the only martyr, and all who suffered then were but the forerunners of an immense cloud of sufferers who have never ceased to suffer from then till now: "They that love me and keep my Commandments." These are the Israelites, said R. Nathan, who lived in Palestine, and gave their lives for the Commands. "Why goest thou forth to be killed by the sword? Because I circumcised my son. Why goest thou forth to be burnt? Because I read in the Torah. Why goest thou forth to be crucified? Because I ate unleavened bread." [1]

(c) Sanctification of the Name.

In the middle, as it were, between religion and morality, and casting its influence upon both, is the conception of the Sanctification and Profanation of the Name. This conception deepened, though it depended on, the Biblical teachings upon the subject in Ezekiel and elsewhere, and is, in this fuller and finer development, at least as old as Akiba. The highest form of Sanctification is martyrdom. For the Talmudists the classic period of the Sanctification was the Hadrianic persecution. Thus, for instance, playing upon Psalm xvi. 3, the Midrash observes: "David said, Thou didst increase sufferings for the generation of the persecution, when they died for the sanctification of Thy Name. R. Idi said, Sufferings are divided into three portions. One portion the fathers and all the generations together have assumed; one portion the generation of the persecution; one portion the King Messiah (*aliter*: the generation of the Messiah). What did they do in the generation of the persecution? They took iron balls and made them white-hot, and put them under their armpits, and took away their lives from them, and they brought sharp reeds, and put them under their nails, and so they died for the Sanctification of Thy Name." Elsewhere the same Midrash remarks: "How many persecutions have been decreed against Israel, but they have given their lives for the Sanctification of the Name." [2] Rather touching is the saying of R. Ḥiyya bar

[1] *Sotah*, 31a; Jer. *Berachoth*, ix.; Schwab, i. pp. 169, 170; *Mechilta* on Exodus xx. 5; Wünsche, p. 213.

[2] *Midrash Tillim* on Psalm xvi. 3; Wünsche, vol. i p. 124; *Midrash Tillim* on Psalm xviii. 7; Wünsche, vol. i. p. 149.

Abba (second century): "If you are asked to give your life for the Sanctification of the Name, say, I am ready to give it; only may I be beheaded at once, and not be tortured as in the days of the persecution." [1]

Certain it was that those who gave or give their lives for the Sanctification of the Name would obtain the blessedness of 'the world to come.' The "Sons of the living God loved Him even unto death." That is said to be the meaning of the words 'sick of love' in the Song of Solomon. "They were sick, not through pain of head or body, but through love of the Holy One—yea, sick of love even unto death, for the Son so loves his Father that he gives up his life for the honour of his Father. Even as Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego gave their lives, not on the condition of release, but to be burnt, for it is said, stronger than death is love." [2]

As the Sanctification of the Name was the highest duty, so the Profanation of the Name was the deadliest sin, for which, according to the developed Rabbinic view, there was no atonement but death. Even repentance, and the Day of Atonement, and sufferings, were insufficient.[3] The Sanctification of the Name is a peculiarly Jewish duty, which is not obligatory upon the Gentile Theist, or the follower of the seven Noachide Commands.[4] But, over and above martyrdom, the duty of sanctification and the sin of profanation exercised a peculiar effect upon Jewish life. God's honour is, as it were, put into Israelite keeping. Here we find an odd moral result for good of Jewish particularism. Though God is the one and only God, yet He is in a special sense the God of Israel, and so any sin of any Israelite, which becomes known to a non-Israelite, constitutes a profanation of the Name. It reflects upon God's honour. The special servants and sons of God must not sin, for their sin, if known, reflects upon the credit of their God, who bade them be

[1] *Pesikta C.* x. 87a; Wünsche, p. 112.
[2] *Midrash Tillim*, ix. *ad fin.*; Wünsche, vol. i. p. 93.
[3] *Yoma*, 86a.
[4] *Sanhedrin*, 74b.

holy even as He is holy, and through their holiness to show forth His. Thus—to return for a moment to religious persecution—it is permitted, in order to save one's life, to transgress all laws, except the laws against idolatry, unchastity, and murder; but if one is asked openly to violate the lightest law as a sign of apostasy, one must unhesitatingly die. If of two possible methods of action, one involves an ordinary sin, and one a profanation of the Name, one must undoubtedly choose the former. It is better, it was said, that a letter should be torn out of the Law than that God's Name should be openly profaned.[1] It was even asserted that it was better to commit a sin in secret than to profane the Name openly, while, on the other hand, it was also declared that this secret sin was itself a profanation of the Name.[2] Thus the Sanctification of the Name became an important string in the Jew's moral bow, and especially in his dealings with the non-Jew. This point comes out very naïvely in Talmudic discussions. The 'natural man' in the Jew was inclined to take advantage of the non-Jew, to defraud him, in other words, when opportunity offered. For the non-Jew was the oppressor of the Jew. But the Jew was restrained from doing so by the law of the Sanctification. Thus the rule stands codified: to steal from the non-Jew is a 'heavier' sin than to steal from the Jew because of the Profanation of the Name.[3] Famous is the old story of R. Simeon ben Shetaḥ (first century), who restored the jewel which was found upon the donkey that he had bought from certain Arabs. Characteristic is the remark made on his action: "Simeon preferred to know that those Arabs said (when the jewel was restored), Blessed be the God of the Jews, than all the reward of this world. The cry of the Arabs was a great Sanctification of the Name." In the passage of the Jerusalem Talmud, where the story is told,

[1] *Sanhedrin*, 74a; *Yebamoth*, 79a.

[2] *Kiddushin*, 40a.

[3] Tosefta, *Baba Kama*, x. 15. A certain legal deceit must not be allowed, said Akiba, towards the non-Jew because of the Sanctification of the Name: *Baba Kamma*, 113a.

other tales follow of the same kind.[1] Dr. Kohler is doubtless right when he says that "to this day the warning against profanation of the Name tends to keep the commonest Jew from committing any act that might disgrace the Jewish Community." [2]

(*d*) Ethics 1) Righteousness.

A few words may be in place regarding the effect of the Law upon the conceptions of virtue and vice, righteousness and sin, and the methods of the divine retribution. What are supposed to be the dangerous effects of legalism in these respects must be well known to every reader. Nor can it be doubted that there existed a certain tendency to look at righteousness and sin as if a man's character could be measured in the same manner as his weight. But the truth seems to be that though such a tendency existed, it was checked by other tendencies, more human, more healthy, more 'prophetic.' There is, however, no room here to deal with this very complicated subject more thoroughly.

The terms 'merit' (*Zechuth*) and "good works" (*ma'asim tobim*) are perhaps familiar to the reader. How far, it may be asked, did these terms, which are quite as early as Acts, generate the idea that certain deeds were accomplished for the sake of piling up a store of merit (and hence of acquiring reward)? For instance: Was a man inclined to give alms—a prominent example of good works—to make for himself a treasure or store of merit? Already in Sirach we have the doctrine that alms-giving delivers from death and atones for sin, and this view was general in the Rabbinic period. The word *Ṣedakah*, which in the Bible means righteousness, acquired in Rabbinic Hebrew the subsidiary sense of alms-giving, and hence a famous verse in Proverbs (xi. 4) was interpreted as a witness and proof of the potency of eleemosynary gifts. The doctrine of Matt. vi. 20 about treasures in heaven is essentially and even verbally Rabbinic. Famous is the tale of King Monobazus, the proselyte (first century), who dissipated all his treasures and those of his ancestors in

[1] Jerusalem Talmud, *Baba Meṣia*, ii. 5; Schwab, vol. x. p. 93.
[2] *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, vol. vii. p. 485, col. 2.

alms. His family remonstrate, and contrast his conduct with that of his prudent forefather. He replies: "My ancestors collected for below, I have collected for above; they collected in a place where the hand rules, I have collected in a place where it does not; they collected what bears no fruit, I have collected what bears fruit; they collected money, I have collected treasures of souls (Prov. xi. 30); they collected for others, I have collected for myself; they collected for this world, I have collected for the world to come." So Akiba asked by Turnus Rufus, "Why, if your God loves the poor, does he not sustain them?" replied, "So that we may be saved through them from the judgment of hell." Almsgiving and charity (deeds of loving-kindness) are the great intercessors between Israel and their Father in heaven.[1]

(2) Heavy and 'light' commands.

As early as the first century, the division of the commands into light and heavy had been effected. From the second century comes the adage: "Be as attentive to a light precept as to a heavy one, for thou knowest not the reward of precepts."[2] But in truth the motive for obedience was higher than this adage would make it out. It was not merely urged, Run to do a light command, for it will induce you the more readily to fulfil a heavy one. The light commands were looked on as the adornment and beauty of the Law. The verse in Canticles is quoted: "Thy belly is like a heap of wheat set about with lilies," and these lilies are said to be the light, tender commands, the fulfilment of which brings Israel to the life of the world to come.[3]

It must not be supposed that the light are the ritual commands, and the heavy the moral commands. Such a division would be false. Some commands, such as circumcision, Sabbath, fasting on the Day of Atonement, eating unleavened bread in the week of Passover, though 'ritual,' are, in Rabbinic eyes, extremely heavy. The emphasis laid upon circumcision is remarkable.

[1] *Baba Bathra*, 11a, 10a; *Sabbath*, 32a.
[2] *Aboth*, ii. 1.
[3] *Aboth R. Nathan*, ii. 5a; Pollak, p. 21.

Nevertheless, although many ritual commands are heavy, few moral commands would be light.

(3) Emphasis on motive.

It is probable that, with the rise of Christianity, the emphasis on the formal side of the Law was increased. This cut more ways than one. More and more insistence was placed upon purity of motive: the Law for its own sake. The doctrine of *lishmah* (for its own sake) is one of the distinctive glories of Rabbinic Judaism. "To him who studies the law for its own sake, it is a tree of life; to him who does not, it is a mixture of death. And be it noted that to fulfil a command 'for its own sake' becomes equivalent to fulfilling it 'from love.' Even "a sin *lishmah* is better than a command which is not *lishmah*," meaning that it is better to fall into an unintentional transgression with a good motive than to fulfil a command with a bad one.[1] It was even held dangerous or wrong to say of a command like Deut. xxii. 6, 7, "How great is God's mercy." The laws are not mere expressions of God's mercy: they are His arbitrary decrees.[2] A curious parallelism with the views of Kant may be observed in certain Rabbinic phrases and tendencies concerning the Law. Thus R. Ḥanina bar Hama (third century) said, "Better is he who does something because it is ordered than he who does it though he was not ordered to do it."[3] The old saying of Antigonus of Socho, "Be not as slaves that serve their Lord with a view to reward," did not fall on deaf ears. It is constantly quoted in Rabbinical literature, as, for instance, by R. Eleazar (third century), when, using Psalm cxii. 1, "blessed

[1] *Taanith*, 7a, *Nazir*, 23b.

[2] This view, moreover, prevented superstition. There was no magic in the ritual ordinances. Highly significant is R. Johanan ben Zaccai's remark about the water of Numbers xix. 9. "The dead body does not (in itself) cause uncleanness; water does not (in itself) make clean: it is just a divine ordinance that may not be transgressed." So Rab (third century) said, "The commands were merely given to purify man. What does it matter to God how an animal is killed?" *Numbers R.* xix.; Wünsche, p. 466; *Bereshith R.* xliv. *init.*; Wünsche, p. 201.

[3] *Megilla*, 25a, *Berachoth*, 33b; Jer. *Ber.* v. 3; Schwab, vol. i. p. 103; *Kiddushin*, 31a.

is he who greatly delights in God's commandments," he observes, "only in the commandments, not in the reward of the commandments." [1]

Thus this very legalism laid much stress on motive. Rabbi Eleazar said that if he who unintentionally commits a good action is rewarded, how much more he who commits it intentionally. That God demands the heart is a familiar Rabbinic aphorism. A combination of the doctrine of intention with the doctrine of God's mercy results in the customary teaching that the good intention, even frustrated, is reckoned as if it had issued in deed; whereas the bad intention, which fails to be consummated in action, is forgiven. The distinction between intention and deed is sometimes oddly manifested. We are told of Akiba that on reading a certain passage in the Law, he would weep and say, If he who meant to eat pig, and ate sheep, required atonement and forgiveness, how much more does he need it who meant to eat pig and ate it! Or, again, if he who meant to eat permitted fat, and ate forbidden fat, needed atonement and forgiveness, how much more he who meant to eat forbidden fat and ate it! [2] The Rabbis, who were inclined to judge themselves severely (as indeed a Rabbinic law ordained), did not by any means always avail themselves of the teaching that the frustrated evil intention is overlooked by God, so far as their own repentance and consciousness of sin were concerned.

(4) Grace and merit.

Such teaching as this—and it became a regular commonplace —must have provided a good corrective to the dangers of *Zechuth* and to the doctrine of 'treasures.' It was moreover often repeated that man has no claim upon God because of his virtues. The precipitate of early Rabbinic doctrine is contained in the liturgy. Daily the orthodox Jew is supposed to recite the following prayer, which may be as old as the first century. "Sovereign of all worlds! Not because of our righteous acts do we lay our

[1] *Abodah Zarah*, 19a.

[2] Sifre, 120a; *Kiddushin*, 39b, 40a; *Sanhedrin*, 106b; *Kiddushin*, 81b; Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*, i. p. 326, n. 2.

supplications before Thee, but because of Thine abundant mercies. What are we? What is our life? What is our piety? What our righteousness? . . . What shall we say before Thee, O Lord our God and God of our fathers? Are not the wise as if without knowledge, and the understanding as if without discernment?" Not improperly does Dr. Abrahams say: "In this passage we have the true Rabbinic spirit on the subject of grace and works. The Rabbis held that reward and punishment were meted out in some sort of accordance with a man's righteousness and sin. But nothing that man, with his finite opportunities, can do constitutes a *claim* on the favour of the Almighty and the Infinite. In the final resort all that man receives from the divine hand is an act of grace."[1] Moses, says the Midrash, used for his prayers the expression 'supplication.' R. Johanan said, "Hence thou canst learn that the creature has nothing over against his Creator, for Moses, the greatest of the Prophets, could only come to God with supplications."[2] And the Midrash goes on to say: "God said to Moses, Upon him who puts something in My hand, I will have mercy with the attribute of mercy, to him who puts nothing in My hand, I will be gracious with a free gift."[3] Not even Abraham, Isaac or Jacob could go unpunished if God dealt with them as in a Court of Law. All need the loving-kindness of God, even Abraham.[4] Commenting on Ps. cxli. 1, "I cry unto Thee: make haste unto me," the Midrash observes: "What does 'Make haste unto me' mean? I hastened to fulfil Thy commands; so hasten Thou to me. What is the matter like? It is like a man who had to defend himself before a judge. He saw that all others had advocates to plead for them. He said to the judge, The others have advocates; I have no advocate. Be thou my advocate as well as my judge. So David said, Some trust to their good

[1] *Authorised Prayer Book*, p. 7. Annotated edition by Dr. I. Abrahams, p. xxi.

[2] *Deuteronomy R.* ii. 1; Wünsche, p. 18. [3] *Ibid.* p. 19.

[4] *Genesis R.* lx. 2; Wünsche, p. 281 *ad fin.* Cp. *Genesis R.* on xxxix. 6; Wünsche, p. 175.

and upright works, and some trust to the works of their fathers: but I trust to Thee. Even though I have no good works, yet since I call on Thee, answer me." [1]

Tendency to intellectualism.

On the whole, there was doubtless a certain tendency to believe that the greater the works, the greater the reward, according to the teaching—" All is according to the greatness of the work." And yet, how often other conceptions, such as repentance and 'intention,' cross the retribution dogma and drive it aside! Famous is the tale of R. Eliezer b. Durdaiya (second century) who was so addicted to the sin of unchastity that it was said of him that there was no harlot in the world whom he had not visited. It was recorded of him that, on the occasion of his last sin, the harlot herself said to him that his repentance would never be received.

" Then he went forth, and sat between the hills, and said, 'Ye mountains and hills, seek mercy for me.' But they said, 'Before we seek mercy for you, we must seek it for ourselves, for it is said, The mountains shall depart and the hills be removed.' Then he said, 'Heaven and earth, ask mercy for me.' But they said, 'Before we ask mercy for you, we must ask it for ourselves, as it is said, The heavens shall vanish like smoke, and the earth shall wax old as a garment.' Then he said, 'Sun and moon, ask mercy for me.' But they said, 'Before we ask for you, we must ask for ourselves, as it is said, The moon shall be confounded, and the sun ashamed.' Then he said, 'Planets and stars, ask mercy for me.' But they said, 'Before we ask for you, we must ask for ourselves, as it is said, All the hosts of heaven shall be dissolved, and the heaven shall be rolled up as a scroll.' Then he said, 'The matter depends wholly upon me.' He sank his head between his knees, and cried and wept so long till his soul went forth from him. Then a heavenly voice was heard to say, 'R. Eliezer b. Durdaiya has been appointed to the life of the world to come.' But R. Jehudah I., the Patriarch (Rabbi) (second century) wept and said, 'There are those

[1] *Midrash Tillim* on Psalm cxli. 1; Wünsche, vol. ii. p. 234 *fin.*

who acquire the world to come in years upon years; there are those who acquire it in an hour.'[1] And he added, 'Not only do they receive the penitent, but they even call them Rabbi!'" This phrase, "There are those who (hardly) acquire the world to come in years upon years; there are those who acquire it in an hour," is often repeated. What an odd commentary it is upon the doctrine of measure for measure!

The Ame ha-Ares.

Very complicated (especially in the first century) is the question how far the Law stimulated a false intellectualism; for it raises the whole question of the *Ame ha-Ares*, into which it is impossible to enter here.[2] Were there (in the first century) large masses of Jews ignorant of the Law and hated by the Rabbis? The Gospel evidence for the existence of such people we know, and there is a certain amount of evidence in the Rabbinical literature which seems to substantiate, and tally with, the evidence of the Gospels. This Rabbinic evidence concerns the *Ame ha-Ares*, who are usually supposed to correspond with the neglected and despised multitudes of the Synoptics, and with the accursed people who know not the Law of the fourth Gospel. Some, however, think that the statements in the Gospels are exaggerated: it has even been suggested that the *Ame ha-Ares* of the Talmud were not poor neglected outcasts at all. The subject is intensely important. Nevertheless, it must be wholly omitted here, because it does not admit of a fair presentation without a very extended statement and discussion of *all* the available facts. Moreover, these facts are extremely complicated. The passages relating to the *Ame ha-Ares* admit of many conflicting interpretations, and they are not entirely consistent with each other or with any particular explanation of them or hypothesis. But whoever the *Ame ha-Ares* were, they seem to have gradually died out, as the rule of Law penetrated more and more deeply through every class of society. The 'neglected outcasts' do not appear to have continued long after Hadrian. Was the terrible revolt a purification as of fire? Did it produce an immense

[1] *Abodah Zarah*, 17a.

[2] See pp. 125 ff.

increase of devotion to the Law? Did it make all surviving Jews more closely knit to each other? Did it cause the lax or the 'outcast' to seek a religious home elsewhere? It is impossible to enter into these fascinating possibilities.[1]

Study and work.

Yet even apart from the *Ame ha-Areṣ*, one may legitimately ask how far, especially in the first and second centuries, was the intellectual element in the religion entirely beneficial. We have seen how the study of the Law was regarded as the highest and most inclusive of all those duties and virtues whereof the fruit is enjoyed in this world and the 'stock' in the world to come. A famous passage in the Talmud, of which the conclusion is often repeated, recounts how R. Ṭarphon (first century) and the Elders were assembled in an upper chamber of a house in Lydda when the question was raised whether study or 'doing' was greater. R. Ṭarphon said 'doing' was greater. R. Akiba said that study was greater. Then all agreed that study was greater because it led to 'doing.'[2] This does not seem wholly unreasonable. Nor can one discount or deny the nobility (or the significance) of the opening supplication of the Amidah, which is at least as old as Acts. "Thou favourest men with knowledge, and teachest mortals understanding. O favour us with knowledge, understanding and discernment from Thee. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, gracious giver of knowledge." We cannot object to the view that he only is poor who is poor in knowledge, or to the adage, "Do you possess knowledge, what do you lack? Do you lack knowledge, what do you possess?"[3] But what are we to say to the phrases of R. Eleazar who observed: "If a man has no knowledge, it is forbidden to have mercy upon him," or "If a man shares his bread with him who has no knowledge,

[1] In addition to the usual sources of information, including Dr. Büchler's wonderfully learned work, *Der galiläische 'Am-ha'Aretz des zweiten Jahrhunderts.* it is only fair and pleasant to mention the three careful and useful papers by a young scholar, A. H. Silver, in the *Hebrew Union College Monthly* for December 1914, and January and February 1915. Silver's conclusions seem to me the fairest, most probable, and most historical that I have so far met with.

[2] *Kiddushin*, 40b; Jer. *Pesaḥim*, iii. 7; Schwab, v. p. 45.

[3] *Nedarim*, 48a.

sufferings will come upon him" ?[1] And then we have the well-known saying of Hillel: "No boor is a sinfearer, nor is the Am ha-Ares pious."[2] It would be easy to make too much of these sayings, the like of which do not appear to be very frequent. In Hillel's saying the word 'pious' (Ḥasid) has possibly a technical sense, meaning 'rigidly saintly.' Or, the boor is the man of dull and coarse sensibilities; scarcely, the simple God-loving fool. And we must remember that this same Hillel is the man who was always ready to pay attention to anybody, and whose favourite adage was, "Love the creatures, and bring them in to the Law. Be a disciple of Aaron; love peace and pursue it."

The Rabbis, moreover, were no close corporation. They sprang from the people, were often lowly born, and often poor. Many practised a handicraft, for it was forbidden to "make a livelihood out of the Law." Some were well-to-do; a few were rich. But the rich counted no higher than the poor. It was an aristocracy of knowledge, and this aristocracy prevented for centuries any aristocracy of wealth. The honour paid to learning and knowledge of the Law gradually grew more and more universal. If any family had a Scholar or a Rabbi among its members, great was its glory. What privations the student and the student's family would be willing to suffer for the sake of learning and of study! And it was a genuine honour, a genuine love. The Rabbi was no priest. He had no dispensing power. He manipulated no sacrament. He had no keys of heaven. Not through him, but solely by your own efforts, and by the mercy of God, could you get there. Therefore the respect paid to learning was sincere and for its own sake. We have already noticed the constant warning against pride.

Nor must it be supposed that the Rabbis had no thought of ordinary people, their needs, their sorrows, or their virtues.

[1] *Sanhedrin*, 92a.

[2] *Aboth*, ii. 6. Cp. *Menahot*, 43b *fin.* R. Meir's blessing that God has not made him a boor.

That is not so. Note their saying: "If you have no time for a long prayer, use a short one." R. Gamaliel (end of first century) said that the Amidah—the eighteen Benedictions—should be said every day. R. Joshua (end of first century) said, the substance of them. R. Akiba said, If a man's prayer is fluent in his mouth, let him say the whole Amidah; if not, let him say the substance. Thus the Mishnah. The Gemara gives an example of a prayer which may be called 'the substance': it would take only two minutes to say.[1] The Rabbis realised that there was a time for long prayers and a time for short. There is a nice story of R. Eliezer ben Hyrkanus (first century). A student was offering prayer in the Synagogue, and was dragging out his prayer at greater length than usual. His fellow students said to Eliezer, Master, how he elongates! Eliezer replied, Does he elongate more than Moses who prayed for forty days and nights? On another occasion a student was surprisingly short, and his fellows said, How he shortens! Eliezer replied, Does he shorten more than Moses, who prayed, "O God, heal her"?[2] Eliezer's own example of a short prayer, such as one might pray on a voyage in a place of danger, is very delicate. "Thy will be done in heaven above, and give calm of spirit to those who fear Thee below, and what is good in Thine eyes, do. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who hearest prayer."[3] The following prayer must clearly have been meant for the people at large: "The wants of Thy people Israel are many, their knowledge is small: may it be Thy will, O Lord our God, to give to every one his sustenance, and to everybody what he needs. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who hearest prayer."[4] "I have told thee," God is made to say, "to pray in the Synagogue, but if thou canst not, pray in thy field, and if thou canst not, pray in thy house, and if thou canst not, pray in thy bed, and if thou canst not, think in thy heart and be still."[5] This does not look like the utterance of

[1] *Berachoth*, 28b, 29a.
[2] *Berachoth*, 34a.
[3] *Berachoth*, 29b.
[4] *Berachoth*, *ibid.*
[5] *Pesikta C.* xxv. 158a; Wünsche, p. 226.

haughty separatists. Nor does the story of the woman who brought a handful of meal to the altar as her sacrifice. The priest sneered at it. But in a dream it was said to him: "Account not her gift as small: account it rather as if she had offered herself."[1] All men, said R. Eleazar (third century), are equal before God, women and slaves, rich and poor. He did not say, learned and ignorant, but I feel pretty sure that we may assume that he meant it.[2]

There are many more things which should be said about the effect of the Law upon, and its relation to, the entire religion of the Jews in the early Rabbinic period. Many sections of the subject have not been touched upon at all. Thus the extent, with its effects, of the ritual laws should be discussed: the food observances, sexual observances, Sabbath observances, the agricultural dues, the laws of clean and unclean, are all exceedingly important. Divorce, polygamy, and the position and estimate of women, would all require careful and separate treatment.

Ethical Refinements in Rabbinism. (a) Charity.

We have already noticed the immense stress laid by the Teachers upon almsgiving and 'deeds of love.' And here three points are to be observed. The first is the increasing delicacy of sentiment. Perhaps the sin which the Rabbis most reprobate is putting one's neighbour to the blush, making him feel ashamed in public. And therefore they lay the utmost stress upon considerateness and delicacy in almsgiving. Much could be written as to this, and many charming quotations could be made. Secondly, the clear distinction had been achieved between almsgiving and the higher love. Thirdly, while the Teachers exalt benevolence, and even go so far as to say that poor and rich were created for each other, the former helping to create the 'merit' for the latter, they are yet very keen (like Sirach) on independence, and have many sensible remarks to make about begging. Akiba said that it was better to go without the distinction of the Sabbath meal (in ordinary circum-

[1] *Leviticus R.* iii. 5; Wünsche, p. 22.
[2] *Exodus R.* xxi.; Wünsche, p. 166.

stances a joyful duty) than to ask the help of another. To lend may be better than to give, and so on.[1]

(b) Forgiveness.

On two points, often discussed, Rabbinic ethics would, I believe, come out of a close investigation with credit and honour. The first concerns forgiveness. "The day of Atonement atones for sins between a man and his God; it does not atone for sins between a man and his neighbour till he has become reconciled with his neighbour." This passage from the Mishnah is of high importance, for it represents the considered doctrine of the Synagogue. It is repeated in the Siphra, and a teaching of R. Eleazar b. Azariah (first century) is added: "Words between thee and God will be forgiven thee; words between thee and thy neighbour will not be forgiven thee till thou hast softened thy neighbour."[2] It is, perhaps, true that the Rabbis thought more of the doer than of the recipient of the wrong. They were, perhaps, more keen to teach that the doer of a wrong should beg pardon and seek reconciliation than that the recipient should forgive. A characteristic story is that of R. Simon b. Eleazar (second century). He once saw a very ugly man, and called out, "How ugly you are." To which the man replied, "Go to the Master who made me and reprove Him." Then the Rabbi leapt from his ass, and begged for forgiveness. But the man would not let him off so easily. "He followed the Rabbi all the way to the city of his residence, and on arrival there asked the people who their Rabbi was. They replied, Him you follow. The ugly man said, If he is a Rabbi, may there be few like him in Israel! And he told them the story. They said, Nevertheless, forgive him. He replied, I will forgive him on condition that he never acts like that again. And the Rabbi preached that day in the College, Let a man be always as bending

[1] Cp. *Pesaḥim*, 112a; *Sabbath*, 118a; *Aboth R. Nathan*, iii. 8a; Pollak, p. 27; *Mishnah Peah*, viii. 8, 9.

[2] *Yoma*, 85b; *Siphra*, 83a and b. Cp. Dr. Charles, *Religious Development between the Old and the New Testaments*, pp. 151, 152. His translation of *Yoma*, 86b, is erroneous, and the contrast between it and Matthew xviii. 21, 22, falls to the ground. Cp. my article on Jewish Apocalypses and Rabbinic Judaism in *The Quest*, October 1915, p. 165.

as a reed and not stiff like a cedar." [1] R. Jehuda b. Tema (second century) was wont to say, "If you have done your neighbour a small injury, in your eyes let it seem great; has he done you a great injury, in your eyes let it seem small. And forgive those who humiliate you." [2] Often repeated, and not unjustly famous, is the adage, "Of those who are humiliated, and do not humiliate, who bear insults and do not reply, who fulfil (the Commands) from love, and rejoice in their sufferings, the Scripture says, 'They who love Him are as the sun when he goeth forth in his might.'" [3]

A virtue often urged is, "Not to insist upon one's rights," which seems to turn into the equivalent of forbearance, of yielding, of forgiveness. Thus was it said by Raba, "He who passes over his rights, his sins are passed over." It is recorded that R. Akiba's prayers were heard while R. Eliezer's prayers were not heard—not because Akiba was greater (*i.e.* more learned) than Eliezer, but because he was more forbearing.[4]

The Rabbinical advance in ethical distinction and delicacy is also illustrated by the example given to explain the distinction between revenge and bearing a grudge, both of which are forbidden in the same Pentateuchal verse (Lev. xix. 18). If A asks B to lend him a sickle and B refuses, and B next day asks A to lend him an axe, and A refuses, saying, I will not lend you anything, because you would not lend me—that is revenge. But if A asks B to lend him a sickle and B refuses, and B next day asks A to lend him an axe, and A does so, saying, There it is, I am not like *you*, who would not lend to me—that is bearing a grudge.[5]

(c) Love. An impression is current that the word love, and the actions or the feelings which the word denotes, were unknown in Rabbinic Judaism. But the more one reads of Rabbinic literature, the more,

[1] *Aboth R. Nathan*, xli. 66a; Pollak, p. 139.
[2] *Aboth R. Nathan*, xli. 67a; Pollak, p. 141.
[3] *Sabbath*, 88b. Cp. *Baba Kamma*, 92a, 93a.
[4] *Yoma*, 23a, 87b; *Taanith*, 25b.
[5] *Yoma*, 23a.

I think, one comes to the conclusion that there is not much to be said for the old familiar contrast of Righteousness for Judaism and Love for Christianity. Modern Jews in polemical literature have often taken the foolish line of trying to turn the tables upon their critics by saying, "We accept the contrast, and glory in it. Righteousness is higher than love!" The historian will let these verbal contests and sophistries lie. He will perceive that there was in Rabbinic literature from the first century onwards a passionate love for God, a passionate love for His Law, and a very real love of neighbour. These various loves were shown by practical service, by delicate charity, and, so far as God was concerned, by obedience culminating in martyrdom. Life under the Law, so far as loving deeds and gentle benevolence are concerned, leaves little to be desired.

It is another question whether there existed a feeling of love to all men, including the sinner and the enemy. That Hillel's form of the golden rule is negative I do not think so important as Christian writers, in their very natural desire to magnify the uniqueness of the words of Jesus, always make out. That same Hillel said, "Love mankind, and bring them in to the Law," which is positive enough in all conscience. Nevertheless, *suum cuique*. And I should be far from attempting to deny the original elements in the Gospel teaching. The summons not to wait till they meet you in your sheltered and orderly path, but to go forth and seek out and redeem the sinner and the fallen, the passion to heal and bring back to God the wretched and the outcast—all this I do not find in Rabbinism; *that* form of love seems lacking.

Conclusion.

These remarks are but suggestions towards a picture of the tendencies of Jewish religious thought at the close of the first century. They reveal a fine Theistic religion, peculiar and special in its frequent strength and in its occasional weakness. It was, at any rate, a religion in which God was a most present reality. Let all thy deeds, said Hillel, be in the name of heaven. In other words, let them all be done for the glory of God. It was

God's glory, I fancy, and the delicate sense of charity which His religion was generating, that prompted Hillel to provide a horse and a slave for a poor man of noble family, and that made him, on an occasion when there was no slave to run in front of the horse, run some distance himself, so that the poor man might maintain his honour.[1]

"Deeds of loving-kindness": not always the sort of deeds which we should do to-day, but fair and delicate deeds, nevertheless.

"A legal religion." Yes, but a religion which culminated in the view that for God's sake and His Law's sake, for the pure love of God and for the pure love of His Law, must all commands be fulfilled, that the intention is even greater than the deed, and that thoughts of sin are even more serious than the sin itself.[2] "The day is short," said the stern and rigid R. Ṭarphon, who had seen the Temple worship in its glory, "and the task is great, and the reward is much." Do you say, "Ah, always that odious mention of reward"? And what sort of man was this R. Ṭarphon? One Sabbath day his mother's sandals split and broke, and as she could not mend them, she had to walk across the courtyard barefoot. So Ṭarphon kept stretching his hands under her feet, so that she might walk over them all the way.[3] Another day, at the close of the fig harvest, he was walking in a garden, and he ate some figs that had been left behind. The custodians of the garden came up, caught him, and beat him unmercifully. Then Ṭarphon called out, and said who he was, whereupon they stopped and let him go. Yet all his days did he grieve, for he said, "Woe is me, for I have used the crown of the Law for my own profit." For the teaching ran: A man must not say, I will study, so as to be called a wise man, or an elder, or to have a seat in the College, but he must

[1] *Beṣa*, 16a; *Kethubŏth*, 67b; Jer. *Peah*, viii. 8; Schwab, vol. ii. p. 114.

[2] *Yoma*, 29a *init.*

[3] The story is most intelligently told in Jer. *Kiddushin*, i. 8; Jer. *Peah*, i. 1; Schwab, ii. p. 9; Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*, i. p. 344, n. 1.

study from love, the honour will come of itself.[1] Finally, let us recall what R. Eleazar b. Sadok (first century), who, an older man than Tarphon, also saw the fall of Jerusalem, was wont to say, "Do the words of the Law for the doing's sake, and speak of them for their own sake. Make them not a crown with which to exalt thyself, or a spud with which to weed."[2]

A strange legalism!

[1] Jer. *Shebi'ith*, iv. 3; Schwab, ii. p. 358; *Nedarim*, 62b. Cp. the story in *Baba Bathra*, 8a, of R. Jehudah I., the Patriarch (Rabbi), and R. Jonathan (second century), an odd mixture of intolerance and delicacy.

[2] *Nedarim*, 62b; Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*, i. p. 48, n. 2 and 3.

For Bibliography see end of volume.

III

VARIETIES OF THOUGHT AND PRACTICE IN JUDAISM

By The Editors

When Christianity made its appearance Judaism was one of the most active and vigorous religious forces in the world. Religious activity is, however, mainly revealed in diversity, and it is almost impossible for a living church to be a united one. When men feel intensely the need of communion with God, they differ most as to the means of attaining it. Vital religion is, after all, a great experiment, and each man resolves to try his own methods.

Ancient religion of Israel.

The Old Testament tells us less than we should desire about the religion of Israel down to the Captivity. We infer that, upon the whole, it was traditional, national, tribal, and domestic. But it was honourably distinguished by the constant protest which was raised against the popular conception of Israel's relation to God. The prophets insisted that God's favour was not due to partiality, but had a moral end; God had loved and chosen Israel, not from caprice, but to work out a purpose of his own. Even if he had instituted the sacrificial worship, which some denied, its object was purely secondary. He desired obedience rather than sacrifice, and preferred national righteousness to the due performance of religious rites. Amos in Israel and Isaiah in Judah, though living in the midst of a people scrupulous as to ceremonial observance, denounced the whole apparatus of the religion around them. Others, like the "schools of the prophets" and the Rechabites, formed separate religious

communities. In appearance, dress, and gesture the prophet was not as other men, and he was almost always opposed to the existing order.

Effect of the Captivity.

The Captivity converted the Jewish nation into a church, composed of men united by ties of blood, but dispersed and living under the most diverse conditions. They found union in the Law, which was probably promulgated in the fifth century B.C. But the Law could only be kept completely in Palestine; and from this arose a distinction between Jews living in the Holy Land and those whose circumstances compelled them to have their homes elsewhere. These last—commonly known as the "Diaspora" or the "Dispersion"—could only partially obey the Law, and some were further divided from the native Jews by language. Henceforward, there were two great divisions in Judaism, alluded to in Acts vi. 1 as 'Hebrews' and 'Hellenists.'[1]

The Law.

(a) The Nations.

The Law contemplated an isolated nation—a peculiar people, whose 'holiness,' in the technical sense of the word, cut them off from the rest of humanity. But circumstances proved too strong for the legal ideal. The Jews discerned that the heathen were not senseless idolaters, but rather that they had much to teach the elect nation. They found points of contact, first with Persia, then with Greece. Some fought against these outside influences, some yielded, some tried to adapt them, and division was the inevitable consequence. The dualism of Persia, the idealism of Plato, and the asceticism of Pythagoras inevitably modified the religion of the Law.

(b) Jerusalem.

Even those who lived in Jerusalem, privileged to enjoy the worship of the Temple, and able to observe the Law as no other Jews could, experienced a desire for separation. They found that if in theory their condition was ideal, it was not so in practice; and the sins of the Holy City led them to wish for some place where they could obey God in pious seclusion. Unity was soon found to be impossible, even in the precincts of the Sanctuary.

[1] Cf. also Acts xi. 20, where the reading of the MSS. varies between Ἕλληνας and Ἑλληνιστάς.

Sources. Great obscurity hangs over the subject of the sects; contemporary authorities are very meagre, and often leave us in considerable uncertainty whether what are called sects were such in our sense of the word. In the New Testament, for example, we read of Pharisees, Sadducees, and Herodians, perhaps Zelots, Galilaeans, Sicarii, Samaritans, and disciples of John; but we have no knowledge whether any of these were formal associations, for the question of the Jewish societies (Habërim) is very difficult.

(*a*) Epiphanius. The first Christian writer to give a catalogue of Jewish sects is Epiphanius (fl. A.D. 380). He enumerates in his *Panarion* (1. 1) seven sects: Sadducees, Scribes, Pharisees, Hemerobaptists, Nasaraei, Ossenes, and Herodians. The Samaritans he regards as on the border-line between Judaism and Heathenism; they are divided into four sects: Essenes, Sebouaei, Gortheni, and Dositheans. Whenever it is possible to control Epiphanius by reference to earlier writers or known facts, his complete untrustworthiness is apparent. What he says about Scribes, Pharisees, Sadducees, Herodians, and Essenes is negligible and absurd. As to the other sects, he must be treated with suspicion. The statements which he makes are as follows:

(1) *The Hemerobaptists.*—These agreed with the Pharisees and Scribes rather than the Sadducees, but insisted on daily washings throughout the year. "For this sect maintained that life was impossible for man, unless he were daily baptized in water, being washed and purified (*ἁγνιζόμενος*) from all guilt."

(2) *The Nasaraei* (*Νασαραῖοι*).—This sect existed in Gilead and Bashan, east of Jordan. Though they accepted Circumcision, Sabbath, the Law of Moses, and venerated the Patriarchs, they rejected sacrifice, animal food, and the Pentateuch as alien to the revelation given to Moses.

This statement of Epiphanius has been used by W. B. Smith [1] and others to explain the statement in the Gospels and Acts that Jesus was from Nazareth. It is certainly true that Epi-

[1] W. B. Smith, *Der vorchristliche Jesus.* See Appendix B, p. 432.

phanius clearly distinguishes these Nasaraei from the Nazarenes (Ναζωραῖοι) or Jewish Christians; and there is no proof outside the Gospels that any city of Nazareth existed in the time of Jesus. Moreover, Epiphanius admits that all the other sects had disappeared by his time, except the Nasaraei and the orthodox Jews. There may have been such a sect; but Epiphanius is quite capable of inventing one by confusing its adherents with Jews who had taken a Nazarite vow.

(3) *The Ossenes.*—These came from Nabataea, Ituraea, and Moab, the eastern side of the Dead Sea, but in the second century all had been absorbed in the Gnostic heresy of Elxai. They are described as agreeing with the Nasaraei in rejecting the Pentateuch. Epiphanius clearly distinguishes the Ossenes from the Essenes, but it is obvious that these are really identical.[1]

(*b*) Rabbinical writings.

The Rabbinical writings are none of them earlier than about A.D. 200, though based in part on tradition reaching back to the Apostolic Age.

The oldest part of the Rabbinical literature is the reduction to writing of the oral law as it was developed in the schools in the first and second centuries of the Christian era. In some schools the oral law was taught in connexion with the weekly lesson in the Pentateuch, in others it was gone through according to an ordered list of subjects on a system attributed to Akiba. The former method is represented by the Mekilta, Sifra, and Sifre (on Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers-Deuteronomy, respectively); the latter, which eventually prevailed, produced the Mishna of Judah the Patriarch (about A.D. 200), the Tosephta, and numerous other works of the same kind which are known only through quotations in the Talmuds, where they are designated as Baraitas, or traditions extraneous to the official Mishna. The codification of Judah came to be recognised as the authoritative Mishna, and may be called the canon of the traditional law.

[1] For the relation of Epiphanius to Pseudo-Tertullian and Philastrius and their common indebtedness to a lost treatise of Hippolytus, see R. A. Lipsius, *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanius*, Vienna, 1865.

Henceforth the work of the schools was the discussion of the meaning, reason, and application of the Mishna, the reconciliation of apparently conflicting rules, and similar questions. These discussions form the bulk of the two Talmuds, one proceeding from the Palestinian schools, the other from the Babylonian; but they contain much other matter more or less loosely connected with the subject in hand—interpretation of Scripture or homiletical improvements upon it, Biblical legends, anecdotes, folklore and fable, popular superstitions. The legal matter is called *Halaka* (rule to go by), the rest is *Hagada* (vaguely, 'teaching'). The doctors of the Law in the schools of the Mishna in the first and second centuries are called Tannaim (Traditionists); their successors down to the completion of the Talmuds are the Amoraim (Lecturers). The compilation and redaction of the Palestinian Talmud, erroneously called the *Jerusalem* Talmud, was ended in the fifth century, that of the Babylonian half or three-quarters of a century later.

Besides the Talmuds, which embody the labours of the schools, there is a large body of Midrashim, representing the teaching in the synagogues, either in the form of homilies on the pericopes for special Sabbaths, or on the whole cycle of lessons, or of continuous homiletical commentaries on books of the Bible. In age, these compilations range from perhaps the fourth or fifth century to the Middle Ages, but the material they contain in part goes back as far as the second century.

The character of these sources explains why the student who expects to find in them historical information is doomed to disappointment. Even of a crisis such as the revolt under Hadrian there is nowhere even the briefest account; nothing but allusions and anecdotes, chiefly about rabbis.

In the attempt to extract information about the Jewish sects from the Rabbinical writings, the first difficulty is one of identification. It is, for example, natural to look for something about the Essenes; but what Hebrew or Aramaic name is disguised in this Greek word no one has been able to say even with proba-

bility, nor is the sect recognisable in any description. Another difficulty is caused by the fact that the zeal of Christian censors to expurgate the Talmud of all real or supposed references to Christianity led the editors to substitute 'Sadducees,' or some other sect that had no friends, for the suspected word 'Minim' or 'heretics'; this confusion is, however, not beyond the reach of remedy by recourse to manuscript evidence and early editions. Incidentally it may be said that 'Gemara' in modern printed editions is a substitute for the word 'Talmud,' in deference to the prejudice of the censors against the very name of the book; the meaning, 'instruction,' is the same.

(c) Philo and Josephus.

More satisfactory as contemporary evidence are the two Jewish writers who employ the Greek language, Philo and Josephus. But unfortunately the statements of Philo are confined to a single treatise, the *De vita contemplativa*, while Josephus gives but short accounts of the sects in the second book of the Jewish War and in the eighteenth of the Antiquities, which constantly referred to hereafter.

In dealing with the sects the following arrangement will be adopted: I. The Asidaeans, the earliest sect or party among the Jews of which we have historical mention. II. The ascetic sects, which retired to practise a stricter life. III. Those which existed as parties in official Judaism. IV. The Samaritans, the great formal separation from Judaism. V. The ignorant, or "people of the Land" (עמי הארץ). VI. The writers of the Apocalyptic literature.

I. The Asidaeans

The Earliest Sect.

In 1 Maccabees the rising of Mattathias and his sons was supported by an assembly (*συναγωγή*) of Asidaeans. We are not told who these were, though evidently they were strict and willing observers of the Law (*ἐκουσιαζόμενος τοῦ νόμου*). But they had no sympathy with the political side of the Maccabean struggle; for directly the Syrians allowed Alcimus, a man of

undoubted Aaronic descent, to go to Jerusalem as High Priest, the Asidaeans withdrew from all participation in the struggle, abandoning Judas the Maccabee to his fate, whereupon sixty were slain by the Syrian general, Bacchides.[1] From this we may infer that their acknowledged zeal for the Law did not make them desire even the independence of their country, provided the practice of their religion was assured to them. This would tend to confirm the view that the Asidaeans were a sect occupied solely in religion and indifferent to worldly affairs. Their name has a close resemblance to the Hebrew word ḥasid (חסיד), common in the Psalms, and translated indifferently 'saint' and 'holy one.' It has been supposed that Ps. lxxix. 2 actually mentioned the Asidaeans, when it speaks of the "dead bodies of thy holy ones" (חסידיך). After the Maccabean war we hear no more of these Asidaeans; but it may be that they reappear afterward, either as Pharisees or Essenes, or even in both sects.

Successors of Asidaeans.

The point of difficulty is this: We meet with the Asidaeans during the Maccabean struggle, but there is no mention of Pharisees or Essenes, and when, after that period, Pharisees and Essenes come into our notice there is no mention of Asidaeans. There are, therefore, three attractive hypotheses as to the course of events after the Maccabean struggle. (1) The Asidaeans split into two, Pharisees and Essenes, the old name being kept by neither. (2) The Pharisees are the direct descendants of the Asidaeans, while the Essenes have a separate origin. (3) The Essenes represent the Asidaeans, and the Pharisees are a new development. But no decisive evidence can be alleged in favour of any of these hypotheses, each of which is possible enough in itself.

In support of the first may be alleged general probability, in so far that the Pharisees and Essenes first appear after the last mention of the Asidaeans.

[1] See 1 Macc. ii. 42 (א and B read Ιουδαιων and A Ασιδεων) and vii. 13 (πρῶτον οἱ Ἀσιδαῖοι). In 2 Macc. xvi. 6 these Asidaeans are wrongly confounded with the followers of Judas. From the treatise *Nedarim* (Vows), 10*a*, it had been inferred that the earlier חסידים were legalistic ascetics. (See *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 'Asidaeans,' by Robertson Smith and Cheyne.)

In support of the second it has been urged that the Greek Psalms of Solomon, which is almost certainly a Pharisaic work,[1] refers to the writer's adherents as ὅσιοι, which probably represents *hasidim* in the lost Hebrew original. But he also calls them δίκαιοι, πτωχοί, and ἄκακοι, and shows no consciousness that ὅσιος, or the word it translates, is the name of a party.

In favour of the identification of the Essenes with the Asidaeans is the fact that Philo [2] refers to them as Ἐσσαῖοι ἢ ὅσιοι. It is also urged that their attitude shows that, like the Asidaeans, their interests were religious rather than political. But Philo is merely translating Ἐσσαῖοι, which he probably identified with ὅσιος ; [3] he does not mention the Asidaeans, and it is in any case true that Ἀσιδαῖοι and Ἐσσαῖοι cannot transliterate the same word, while that both could be fairly translated by ὅσιοι is neither strange nor important. It is an abuse of criticism, especially in the Psalter, always to see Asidaeans when חסידים are mentioned.

II. The Ascetic Sects

(*a*) The Essenes.

The Essenes were ascetics, living in communities, practising a strict discipline, and endeavouring to live an ideal life. Even in the Old Testament we meet with similar tendencies in the "schools of the prophets," in the "sons of Rechab," and in men like Elijah the Tishbite. Our information concerning Essenism rests mainly on the testimony of Philo, Josephus, and Pliny the Elder, for the accounts in Hippolytus and Epiphanius seem to be secondary to these.[4]

[1] See p. 111.

[2] *Quod omnis probus liber*, 12.

[3] Cf. the quotation in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* viii. 11. 1.

[4] The description of the Essenes given by Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, ix. 13 ff., seems to be taken from Josephus. There is, however, sufficient difference to raise the question whether Josephus and Hippolytus are using a common source. The chief point is in *Refut.* ix. 21, when Hippolytus says : "The adherents of another party (among the Essenes), if they happen to hear any one maintaining a discussion concerning God and his laws—supposing such to be an uncircumcised person—they will closely watch him, and when they meet a person of this description in any place alone, they will threaten to slay him if he refuse

Philo begins his book, *De vita contemplativa*, with the statement that he has already written on the Essenes (Ἐσσαίων πέρι διαλεχθείς), and the notices of them in his *Quod omnis probus liber* and in the *Apology for the Jews* quoted by Eusebius are so brief that we must assume that a treatise about them has been lost. He regards the sect as 'active' rather than 'contemplative.' This explains the mention by Josephus [1] of an Essene acting as a Jewish general in the war with Rome, and agrees with the view which identifies the sect with the Asidaeans who fought under Judas the Maccabee as long as his aims were purely religious. Essenism was an order, to which members were admitted by passing through various degrees after probationary tests. Oaths of secrecy were imposed with a vow not to reveal the names of the angels. Lustrations and purificatory rites were practised. Women were not admitted, and continence was insisted upon. The home of the sect was the western shore of the Dead Sea, but Essenes seem to have been dispersed in several cities, and were distinguished by their white garments and their strict observance of the laws of legal purity.[2] It was their practice to worship facing Jerusalem, and it has been supposed that they even adored the rising sun.

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to undergo the rite of circumcision. Now if the latter does not wish to comply, they do not spare, but even kill him. It is from this occurrence that they have received their appellation, being called Zelotae and by others Sicarii. And the adherents of another party call no one Lord except the Deity, even though one should put them to torture or even kill them."

It is possible that this passage was in a source used both by Hippolytus and Josephus, but the facts seem sufficiently explained by a confusion made by Hippolytus between the description given by Josephus of the Essenes and of the 'philosophy' of Judas of Galilee, together with the fact that Masada, the fortress of the Sicarii, was in the country of the Essenes (see also p. 422).

Epiphanius is completely confused on the subject of the Essenes, out of whom he has made a Samaritan sect of *Essenes* and a Jewish sect of *Ossenes* (*Panarion*, i. 10 and 19).

[1] *B.J.* iii. 2. 1.

[2] The article on Essenes in Hamburger's *Real-Encyclopädie* tries to identify the orders among the Essenes, but these are obtained only by assuming that various classes of Jews mentioned in the Talmud by names referring to special practices, such as *Toble Shaharith*, or morning bathers (Hemerobaptists), really belonged to the Essenes, for which there is no evidence.

It is, however, important to note that Josephus states that the Essenes

This view has been based on the words of Josephus, *B.J.* ii. 8. 5 : *πρός γε μὴν τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβεῖς ἰδίως· πρὶν γὰρ ἀνασχεῖν τὸν ἥλιον οὐδὲν φθέγγονται τῶν βεβήλων πατρίους δέ τινας εἰς αὐτὸν εὐχὰς ὥσπερ ἱκετεύοντες ἀνατεῖλαι.* As it stands, this must mean that they prayed to the sun to rise ; but the worship of the sun is so foreign to later Jewish custom that the suspicion is aroused whether Josephus does not mean that they prayed to God, and only seemed (*ὥσπερ*) to supplicate the sun. On the other hand, it has been pointed out that in *B.J.* ii. 8. 9 the Essenes are said to bury excrement *ὡς μὴ τὰς αὐγὰς ὑβρίζοιεν τοῦ Θεοῦ.*[1] Sun worship.

It is in any case remarkable that they faced the East. This is the general Semitic custom, followed by Syriac Christians ;[2] but the Jews always face towards Jerusalem and Moslems towards Mecca. It is also possible that some attention ought to be paid to the statement of Epiphanius[3] that the 'Ossenes' were mostly converted by Elxai in the time of Trajan, and that the remnants of them, still existing to the east of Jordan, were known as *τὸ γένος Σεμψαίων*, which suggests the Hebrew word for sun (שמש).

The whole question turns largely on whether Essenism is to be regarded as a movement entirely internal to Judaism or as largely due to external heathen influences. The apparently Greek character of Essenism, both in thought and practice, and especially their similarity to the Neo-Pythagoreans, has often been observed.[4] But it is more probable that it is due to the wave of asceticism and of a tendency to abandon society in favour of a more secluded and simpler life, which was sweeping over the whole ancient world, rather than to the direct influence

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were divided on the question of marriage. One party rejected all marriage and the procreation of children : the other advocated procreation and admitted marriage for that purpose (see Josephus, *B.J.* ii. 9. 13).

[1] See J. B. Lightfoot's essay on the Essenes in his commentary on Colossians and T. K. Cheyne's *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 448.

[2] Cf. Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, pp. 24 and 60 in the Syriac text ; Assemani, *Acta Martyr. Orient*, ii. p. 125.

[3] *Panar.* i. 1. 2.

[4] See especially E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*, iii. 2, pp. 277 ff.

of any single cult, or of Hellenism in the strict sense. The influences at work were intellectual and ethical rather than national.

Essenes and sacrifices.

The Essenes sent offerings to the Temple, but whether they offered sacrifice there is not certain; perhaps their ritual forbade their doing so with other Jews. Philo[1] says Ἐσσαῖοι . . . παρώνυμοι ὁσιότητος ἐπειδὴ κἂν τοῖς μάλιστα θεραπευταὶ Θεοῦ γεγόνασιν, οὐ ζῷα καταθύοντες ἀλλ' ἱεροπρεπεῖς τὰς ἑαυτῶν διανοίας κατασκευάζειν ἀξιοῦντες. But the text of the MSS. of Josephus[2] is εἰς δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀναθήματα στέλλοντες θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσι διαφορότητι ἁγνειῶν ἃς νομίζοιεν, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ εἰργόμενοι τοῦ κοινοῦ τεμενίσματος ἀφ' αὑτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν.

Philo has usually been interpreted to mean that the Essenes took no part in the sacrifices of the Temple, and it is held that Josephus contradicts him. The editors have therefore introduced a negative into the text of the latter on the authority of the 'Epitome' and the old Latin version, reading οὐκ ἐπιτελοῦσιν, and emend ἀφ' αὑτῶν to ἐφ' αὑτῶν, "in their own houses" on the authority of the Epitome. The last emendation is possible, but the insertion of οὐκ cannot be justified; the Latin version is too free to be authoritative. Professor G. F. Moore has suggested that the translation should be: "They furnish votive offerings for the Temple and perform sacrifices with what they regard as superlative purifications, and on this account, shut off from the common courts, they perform their sacrifices apart." Θυσία may mean *minhah* (cereal offering), and Josephus says nothing about animals—the only point to which Philo refers. Moreover, though the meaning of κοινοῦ τεμενίσματος is obscure, Josephus, if unemended, seems to say that the Essenes sent their ἀναθήματα to the Temple, and themselves consecrated them in their own way.

In any case the rejection of animal sacrifice cannot be regarded as a complete breach with Judaism. Judaism ever since the

[1] *Quod omnis probus liber*, 12. [2] *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 5.

exile and the rise of the Diaspora had been developing towards the Synagogue and away from the Temple. A similar instance of the rejection of animal sacrifice may perhaps be seen in the Sibyl,[1] where it is said that the great God has no temple of stone nor altars defiled by the blood of animals. The reference is of course primarily to heathen sacrifice, but its tendency is unmistakable.

The Essenes were distinguished by their refusal to use oil ;[2] for their common meals, often taken in silence ; for their esoteric doctrines; and for the fact that no stranger could obtain admission to their lodges.

Allegorism.

Philo does not allude to any peculiarity of doctrine among the Essenes, but in the *Quod omnis probus liber*[3] he says : " Of philosophy they have left the logical branch to word-catchers as being unnecessary to the attainment of virtue, and the physical branch to star-gazers, as too high for human nature, except so much of it as is made a study concerning God and the creation of the universe, but the ethical branch they study very elaborately, under the training of their ancestral laws, the meaning of which it is impossible for the human soul to discover without divine inspiration." And a little later on he says that in the reading of " their sacred books, another of the most experienced comes forward and expounds all that is not easily intelligible : for most subjects are treated among them by symbols with a zealous imitation of antiquity." It is clear that Philo commends the Essenes for their use of allegorical interpretation. It is, however, not certain whether the " sacred books " in this passage refer merely to the Jewish scriptures or to books peculiar to the Essenes. At present no Jewish Apocryphal books can be certainly recognised as Essene in origin. Nevertheless, it is probable that the Essenes had books of their own ; for Josephus[4] says that the initiates into Essenism swore " to communicate their

[1] *Oracula Sibyllina*, iv. 8 ff. 24 ff.

[2] Josephus, *B.J.* ii. 8. 3 ; cf. F. C. Conybeare, article ' Essenes ' in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible.*

[3] Mangey, ii. p. 457.

[4] *B.J.* ii. 8. 7.

doctrines to no one in any other way than as he had received them himself, and that he will abstain from brigandage, and will equally preserve the books belonging to their sect and the names of their angels."

Doctrines.

Josephus,[1] however, gives more information as to their peculiar doctrines. "The opinion is prevalent among them that bodies are corruptible, and that the matter they are made of is not permanent, but that souls are immortal and continue for ever, and that they come out of the most thin air and are united to bodies as to prisons, into which they are drawn by a certain natural enticement; and when they are set free from the bonds of the flesh they then rejoice and mount upwards as if released from a long bondage. They think also, like some of the Greeks (reading τισι for παῖσι), that good souls have their habitations beyond the Ocean in a region that is neither oppressed with storms of rain or snow, nor with intense heat, but refreshed by the gentle breathing of the west wind which perpetually blows from the Ocean; while they allot to bad souls a murky and cold den, full of never-ceasing punishments." Moreover, he compares[2] the Essenes with the Pythagoreans. In his *Life*[3] he says that he made trial of the three sects, and afterwards passed some time as the disciple of a severe ascetic named Bannus, whose life was not unlike the Baptist's. But there is no reason for assuming, as is usually done, that Bannus was an Essene. On the contrary, Josephus says that, having passed through the sects, he resorted to the company of Bannus, who obviously belonged to none of them.

Pliny the Elder.

The Essene community, with its strange usages and beliefs, attracted the attention of the heathen world, as is shown by the notice given by Pliny the Elder. "Ab occidente litore Esseni fugiunt usque qua nocent, gens sola in toto orbe praeter ceteras mira, sine ulla femina omni venere abdicata sine pecunia socia palmarum. In diem ex aequo convenarum turba renascitur, large frequentantibus quos vita fessos ad mores eorum

[1] *B.J.* ii. 8. 10. [2] *Antiq.* xv. 10. 4. [3] *Vita*, 2.

fortuna fluctibus agit. Ita per saeculorum milia—incredibile dictu—gens aeterna est in qua nemo nascitur. Tam fecunda illis aliorum vitae paenitentia est!" [1]

(*b*) The Therapeutae.

The Jews of the dispersion in Egypt anticipated by centuries Christian monasticism in that country. The similarity to the accounts given by Palladius in his *Lausiac History* is so striking that many scholars were disposed to believe that the account of the Therapeutae given by Philo was a Christian romance. But it has now been shown that the *De vita contemplativa* is probably a genuine part of the Philonic literature.[2] The book, our only source of information, begins with an allusion to the Essenes, whose life is contrasted with theirs as 'practical' rather than 'theoretic.' The Therapeutae, male and female, are devoted to a life of contemplation, and, as their name implies, are physicians of the soul, not of the body. They begin their devotional life by an absolute renunciation of property, and desert the towns for a life of contemplation in the wilderness. Apparently these ascetics existed in many parts of the world and were not confined to Jews. But their chief home was in the neighbourhood of Lake Mareotis, near Alexandria, where they settled on the low hills on account of the excellence of the climate. They are compared to the followers of Anaxagoras and Democritus. Like the later monks of the Mareotis, the Therapeutae lived in separate houses or cells, each with its oratory. They met together only on the Sabbath and on the fiftieth day, in preparation for which the seventh Sabbath was a special festival (*πανυχίς*).

De vita contemplativa.

The common sanctuary used for these meetings was divided by a wall separating the men from the women. The Law was read and explained by the oldest or most learned man present.

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 17.

[2] See F. C. Conybeare, *Philo about the Contemplative Life* (Oxford, 1895), and an English translation by the same writer in the Jewish *Quarterly Review* for 1895, pp. 755-769; P. Wendland, "Die Therapeuten und die Philonische Schrift vom beschaulichen Leben," in the *Jahrb. für class. Philologie*, 22 Supplementband, 1896; and, on the other side, E. Schürer, *Geschichte d. jüd. Volkes*, ed. iv. vol. iii. pp. 687 ff., where a full bibliography is given.

The fiftieth day was peculiarly sacred owing to the great importance attached to this number, which, coming after the completion of the seventh seven, is most holy and "ever virgin." Its celebration differed from that of the Sabbath by the holding of a common meal. For this purpose a table was brought in by the young men, who acted as servants. The meal consisted of bread and salt, but the bread was leavened and the salt mixed with hyssop, contrary to the custom of the Temple in Jerusalem. After this the company sang and danced through the night, first in two choirs, afterwards mingling together in a "spiritual bacchanal," drinking in the free love of God. At sunrise they raised their hands to heaven, and the feast ended.[1]

The custom of religious dances has many analogies in heathen religions, but the most striking Christian parallel to this account is in the Leucian Acts of John, which represent Christ and the disciples as taking part in a religious dance on the Mount of Olives on the day of the Crucifixion.[2]

Unlike the Essenes, the Therapeutae admitted women to their society, though they extolled the virtue of a virgin life in most extravagant terms. Their main occupation was the study of Law, which was interpreted allegorically, the composition of hymns, and the reading of the prophets and other writings. There is no allusion in the *De vita contemplativa* to sacrifices in the Temple or to the observance of the Law; Philo's object is, however, to emphasise, not the Judaism of the Therapeutae, but the charm of a life of ascetic contemplation and renunciation of the world. It has been suggested that the reason why we hear no more of the Therapeutae after the days of Philo is that during the troubles which befell the Jews in Egypt in the days of Caligula, the community disappeared.

[1] Philo does not connect this sanctity with the Jewish observance of the year of Jubilee and the seven Sabbath years, but with the mathematical fact that fifty is ἁγιώτατος καὶ φυσικώτατος ἀριθμῶν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ὀρθογωνίου τριγώνου δυνάμεως ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τῆς τῶν ὅλων γενέσεως καὶ συστάσεως (Mangey, ii. p. 481). See also Conybeare's note *ad loc.* p. 102 of his edition.

[2] See *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, by R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, and "Apocrypha anecdota II.," by M. R. James in *Texts and Studies*, vol. v.

(c) The Covenanters of Damascus.

A document was discovered a few years ago in the Cairo Genizah by the late Solomon Schechter, and published by him in 1910, in which there is an obscure account of a migration of Jews from Jerusalem to the land of Damascus.[1] Owing to their being discontented with the religious condition of the Holy City, they established themselves in a community where they could practise an ideal life, uninterrupted by worldly cares. The document gives us the facts in the following words: "In the period of wrath, 390 years after God had given them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, he visited them, and he made to spring forth from Israel and Aaron a root of his planting to inherit his land. And they knew that they were guilty men and had, like the blind, been groping after the way twenty years, and he raised them up a Teacher of righteousness."[2] Accordingly,

[1] S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, vol. i.; *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge, 1910). There is now a fairly large literature on the subject, but the most important contributions are: Levi, "Un écrit Sadducéen antérieur à la ruine du Temple" in the *Revue des Études juives*, 1911, vol. 61, pp. 161 ff.; R. H. Charles, "Fragments of a Zadokite Work" in *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. 2, pp. 785 ff.; Ginsberg, "Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte" in the *Monatsschrift f. Geschichte und Wissenschaft d. Judentums*, 1911; G. Margoliouth, "The Sadducean Christians of Damascus" in the *Expositor*, 1911, pp. 499 ff., and 1912, pp. 213 ff.; G. F. Moore, "The Covenanters of Damascus" in the *Harvard Theological Review*, 1911, pp. 330 ff.

[2] If the 390 years of the manuscript is right (cf. Ezek. iv. 5) and the sect shared the common Jewish error about the duration of Persian rule, its origin would fall somewhere in the middle of the third century B.C. But if Schechter's conjecture, substituting the apocalyptic number 490, be admitted, it would be brought down to Seleucid times. G. Margoliouth, accepting the text, 390, prefers to operate with the chronological scheme of the *Abodah Zarah*, 8*b*–9*a* and the *Seder Olam*, c. 30, which allows to the Persians only 52 years (34 after the rebuilding of the Temple), or with a still shorter computation, which (as he interprets it) squeezes the Asmoneans, Herods, and Romans into 180 years, and is thus able to bring his "Sadducean Christians of Damascus" down to the beginning of the Christian era. This last abridgment is, however, a mere misunderstanding of the Talmudic text; and the abbreviation of the Persian period in Abodah Zarah and the Seder Olam is the result of a calculation which, starting with the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70, and assuming that this came to pass 490 years after the destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, gave to Herod and his successors, the Asmoneans, and the Greeks, the years attributed to them by Rabbinic chronology (103 + 103 + 180 = 386), and counting out at the other end the seventy years of exile, had only 34 left for the Persians (386 + 70 = 456 : 490 − 456 = 34). It is superfluous to point out the consequence

they made a "New Covenant" which God mediated by a Law-giver, or Teacher of Righteousness, also called "the Star." They believed that they were the fulfilment of the words of Ezekiel concerning the true priesthood of the House of Zadok. For this reason the document was called Zadokite by Schechter;[1] but it is more satisfactory to call the sect "the Covenanters of Damascus," in accordance with its description in the document, "those who had entered the Covenant."

The natural obscurity of the story is heightened by the corruptness of the text. It appears that at the date at which the document was written the Covenanters were still observing the laws of the New Covenant, believing that the last days were at hand, and expecting the coming of the Messiah. But there is doubt as to the relation of the various characters: "the Teacher of Righteousness," the "unique Law-giver," "the Star," and "the Anointed One."

The Teacher.

The Teacher of Righteousness is mentioned in chap. i., and immediately afterwards there is a description of 'backsliding.' This is perhaps alluded to again in chapter ix.[2] "So are all the men who entered into the covenant in the land of Damascus, but they turned and committed treason, etc." Immediately after this the text says: "They shall not be reckoned in the assembly of the people . . . from the day when there was gathered in the Only Teacher, until there arise the Anointed One from Aaron and Israel." This seems to differentiate the

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of these palpable and well-known facts for Mr. Margoliouth's ingenious hypothesis. Dr. R. H. Charles, on the other hand, naïvely works out the sum with the aid of a modern hand-book of dates, and comes to the year 196 (G. F. M.).

It is, however, possible that the whole statement should be regarded as a literary reminiscence of the Massoretic text in Ezek. iv. 5; or, if Schechter's suggestion be accepted that the original text was "490 years," it might be merely another instance of the Apocalyptic cycle of seventy weeks of years. In this case arguments as to the date implied by the text have little or no value.

[1] Schechter also finds traces of them under this name in Kirkisani, a Karaite writer of the tenth century. But Kirkisani probably knew Schechter's document, and it is very doubtful whether the text implies more than that the Covenanters fulfilled the prophecy of Ezek. xliv. 15; it does not necessarily mean that they were called Sons of Zadok.

[2] Text B, p. 820, in Charles.

Anointed One from the Only Teacher. It is to be noticed that the Anointed One is not from Judah.[1] The *Teacher of Righteousness* is apparently the same as the *Only Teacher*. In chap. ix. Text A (p. 816) this Teacher is called "the Star," which is explained in connexion with Amos ix. 11.

In these passages the Teacher of Righteousness is regarded as dead, but in chap. viii. (p. 813) he is spoken of as future. "And the nobles of the people are those who came to dig the well by the precepts in which the Law-giver ordained that they should walk throughout the full period of the wickedness. And save them they shall get nothing until there arise the Teacher of Righteousness in the end of the days." The question is whether the text is here corrupt, or the Damascenes expected a return of the Teacher of Righteousness. If the latter be the case, they must have had some such doctrine as the usual one of the return of Elijah, for the distinction between the Teacher and the Anointed One is too clear to be set aside.

Life in the wilderness reproduced.

The apparent object of the Covenanters was to reproduce in their community the life of Israel in the wilderness. They called their dwelling a camp, in imitation of the language of the Pentateuch;[2] and they professed themselves to be "those who had entered a new covenant in the land of Damascus," that is, observers of the Law of Moses, which the rest of the people had despised. They had oaths on admission and a ritual of reception of new members, which could only be performed by the Overseer of the Sect.[3] This overseer "sat in Moses' Seat"; and under him the people were classed as Priests, Levites, Israelites, and Proselytes. In strict imitation of the policy of the wilderness, the people were divided into tens, hundreds, and thousands. A priest presided over every group, even if only of ten persons.

[1] Cf. Jubilees xxxi. 12 ff., and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, Judah xxv., in both of which there are traces of a Levitical Messiah.

[2] מחנה camp. But that they did not literally dwell in tents is shown by other passages.

[3] The word used is מבקר, inspector. The suggestion that the name and office correspond to the Christian *ἐπίσκοπος* is not to be taken seriously.

Troubles of the Covenanters.

The priestly character of the document, which has affinities with the book of Jubilees and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, is seen in the expectation that Messiah is to come from Levi and not from Judah. Great troubles were to herald his appearance, and the Covenanters had already experienced the trials of persecution and division. Even in the days of the Founder an apostasy may have taken place, and he himself had suffered from a "Man of Scoffing." But this is not quite certain. The "Man of Scoffing" mentioned in 1. 10 (p. 801) is clearly an opponent of the Covenanters: it is not so certain that he was an apostate from them. But that there was apostasy soon after the foundation of the sect seems to be shown by 9. 36 ff. (p. 821): "With a judgment like unto that of their neighbours who turned away with the scornful men, they shall be judged. For they spake error against the statutes of righteousness, and rejected the covenant and the pledge of faith, which they had affirmed in the land of Damascus, and this is the New Covenant." The probable meaning is that some Covenanters were persuaded by the "scornful men" and returned to them.

Interpretation of the Law.

The sect interpreted the Law very strictly, and have in this respect some affinities with the Sadducees. There are also many resemblances in the document to the book of Jubilees, especially as regards the calendar,[1] and it has been maintained that both Jubilees and the document before us are Sadducean; but all that has been proved is that they both are anti-Rabbinic in their chronology and other points. In other details they do not agree with what we know of the Sadducees.[2] One of their characteristics was their rigid insistence on monogamy.

[1] In 5. 1 ff. it is said: "With them that held fast by the commandments of God, who were left of them, God confirmed the covenant of Israel for ever, revealing to them the hidden things wherein all Israel had erred, his holy Sabbaths, and his glorious festivals." This seems to be an allusion to Jubilees 1. 14 and similar passages. Jubilees is also referred to by name in 20. 1 as the accurate source of chronology, and the angelology, especially the mention of Mastema, is the same as in Jubilees.

[2] See R. Leszynski, "Observations sur les 'Fragments of a Zadokite Work,'" in the *Revue des Études juives*, lxii. 190 ff. (with a reply by Levi immediately following), and his *Die Sadduzäer*, Berlin, 1912.

EVANGELICAL SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY 666

The most varied opinions have been held as to the origin of the sect. It has been suggested that they represent the pre-Christian heresy of the Dositheans, or even that they were Christians.[1] The probability is that they represent some hitherto unknown movement in Judaism.

(d) John the Baptist and his Disciples.

A separation from social life similar to the foregoing is seen in the movement inaugurated by John the Baptist, who came "preaching in the wilderness of Judaea." Our information is confined to scanty hints in the Gospels, and a short passage in the eighteenth book of the *Antiquities of Josephus*, for though there is a longer statement in the Slavonic version of the Jewish wars, it has no claim to be regarded as the work of Josephus, and possesses no historic value.[2]

Account by Josephus.

In the *Antiquities*[3] Josephus says: "Now some of the Jews thought that Herod's army had been destroyed by God as a

[1] The theory that the Covenanters were Dositheans is maintained by Schechter (p. xxi). The Dositheans are an obscure body, as to whom there are at least two traditions, which are so contradictory that it appears probable that there were two separate sects bearing the name.

(1) The earlier of these sects was a reforming party among the Samaritans, possibly Egyptian in origin, advocating greater strictness of interpretation of the Law, and denying a resurrection. The authorities for this sect are Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 3. 4, where he speaks of Theodosius and Sabbaeus as representing the Samaritans (Theodosius and Dositheus may clearly be regarded as interchangeable Greek forms of the same name), and the lost work of Hippolytus represented by Philastrius, *De Haeres.* 4, and Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cxxi. The later Samaritan chronicles have traces of this sect until the tenth century. (2) The other sect of Dositheans appears as a syncretistic form of Gnosticism akin to that of Simon Magus, who is closely connected with Dositheus, sometimes as pupil, sometimes as master, and, in the Clementine Homilies, as a fellow-disciple of John the Baptist. A full discussion is given by J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, 1907, p. 252 ff. The Jewish and Samaritan authorities are given at length in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, art. "Dositheus," and the Christian traditions in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. The most important modern treatises are by S. Krauss and A. Büchler in the *Revue des Études juives*, vol. xlii. pp. 27 ff. and 220 ff., and vol. xliii. pp. 50 ff.

The identification of the Covenanters with Christians was made by G. Margoliouth, "The Sadducean Christians of Damascus," in the *Expositor*, 1911, pp. 499 ff., and 1912, pp. 213 ff.

[2] See Appendix C for a translation of this passage.

[3] *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 2.

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just punishment for his treatment of John called the Baptist. For Herod killed him, a good man and one who commanded the Jews, training themselves (ἐπασκοῦσι) in virtue and practising righteousness to one another and piety towards God, to come together for baptism. For thus it appeared to him that the baptism of those was acceptable who used it not to escape from any sins, but for bodily purity, on condition that the soul also had been previously cleansed thoroughly by righteousness. And when the rest collected, for they were greatly delighted with listening to his words, Herod feared his great persuasiveness with men, lest it should tend to some rising, for they seemed ready to do everything under his advice. He therefore considered it much better, before a revolt should start from him, to put John to death in anticipation, rather than be involved in difficulties through the actual revolution, and then regret it."

It is not quite certain from this passage to what class of hearers John originally extended his baptism. According to Whiston,[1] it means that John was addressing penitents who were only beginning to turn to the pursuit of virtue,[2] and his translation, here as elsewhere, seems to have had a preponderating influence in the interpretation of Josephus. But, in view of the general context, it would rather seem that Josephus means that John preached originally to those who were already making especial practice of virtue—'ascetics' in the original sense of the word—and that so long as his preaching was confined to this class, Herod regarded it with indifference, but that when the rest of the public[3] (τῶν

[1] "He commanded the Jews to exercise virtue both as to justice toward one another and piety towards God and so to come to baptism."

[2] This explanation seems to have been adopted by the Epitome, which has emended the datives into accusatives. This cannot be the true text, but there is perhaps a possibility that the text found in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 11. 5, is right, which emends χρωμένοις into χρωμένους but leaves ἐπασκοῦσι unchanged.

[3] The antithesis between John's original hearers and these 'others' is obscured by the reading of A, which has λαῶν for ἄλλων, and by the Latin rendering *perplurima multitudo*: it is entirely destroyed by the ingenious but misplaced emendation of Niese, who suggests ἀνθρώπων (ἀνων) for ἄλλων. E.

ἄλλων) came to hear him, the movement obtained a new importance in the eyes of the ruler because of its possible political consequences. The statement implies that the virtuous rather than the sinful were invited to baptism, which was only open to those who had already purified their souls by righteousness.

The evidence of the Synoptic Gospels in the light of modern criticism must be divided into three groups.

The Synoptic Gospels.

(*a*) That of Mark, found in Mark i. 1 ff., and reproduced in the parallel passages of Matt. iii. 1 ff. and Luke iii. 2 ff.

(*b*) That of three passages, which may be attributed to Q in the sense that they are found both in Matthew and Luke, though there is, apart from this, nothing to show that they really all come from the same source. These are Matt. iii. 7-10 = Luke iii. 7-9; Matt. xi. 2 ff. = Luke vii. 18 ff.; and Matt. xi. 18 ff. = Luke vii. 33 ff.

(*c*) That of a passage found only in Luke iii. 10-14, where it is combined with the other passages from Mark and Q. The reason for thinking that this passage does not come from Q is that it is not found in Matthew, and seems to give a picture of John's teaching different from that in Mark and Q.

But neither Jewish nor Christian tradition gives us further help. Christian writers are greatly interested in the Baptism of Jesus, but little in the person of the Forerunner. The only thing to be done is to compare the testimony of the New Testament and Josephus.

N.T. and Josephus compared.

According to Mark and Q, the mission of John was fundamentally eschatological; his baptism had for its object the forgiveness (ἄφεσις) of sins, to prepare its recipients for the coming of the Kingdom. His preaching was repentance, in preparation for the coming of one mightier than John, who would baptize in "Holy Spirit" instead of in water. The difference between Mark and Q is merely that Q gives an example of the preaching of John; it entirely confirms the

Schwartz, in the Berlin edition of Eusebius, suggests that Josephus wrote Γαλιλαίων, which is more attractive, but no change seems necessary.

character attributed to it by Mark, and implies the imminent coming of a catastrophic change. It is not, however, clear whether the original tradition represented this preaching as delivered to Pharisees and Sadducees, as Matthew states, or to the 'Multitudes' (ὄχλοι), according to Luke. Luke is thought to have a tendency to refer incidents to the ὄχλοι, but, on the other hand, the invective of John is held to be more appropriate if he were speaking to Pharisees and Sadducees. Both arguments have some weight, but neither is convincing.

Lucan account.

The passage peculiar[1] to Luke represents a different kind of preaching. The 'Multitudes' are exhorted to share their clothing and food with their poorer neighbours, *publicani* to show moderation and honesty, and men in military service to forbear from acts of violence and fraud, and from discontent with their pay. It is possible that Luke is here using an extract from some special source to which he had access; it is, however, equally possible that it is a piece of expansion due to himself, and based merely on his own impression of the advice which John probably gave. The skill with which Luke unites his sources is remarkable, but when his narrative is compared with Mark and Matthew its composite character is quite obvious.

Whatever the origin of the passage peculiar to Luke may have been, it illustrates his tendency either to minimise the eschatological elements in Mark, or to counteract them. It is not so much in disagreement with the other passages in the Gospels as on a different plane, and it is in sharp contrast to the renunciatory ethics of Jesus, as illustrated by "Follow thou me!" and "Sell all that thou hast." It is, however, worthy of note that this version of John's words had a practical effect in making the Church a support for organised society, thereby neutralising the literal teaching of the Sermon on the Mount.

Divergency between Gospels and Josephus.

It is obvious that these accounts in the Gospels and Josephus, though they agree that John the Baptist was killed by Herod Antipas,[2] have points of serious divergence, and it is very desir-

[1] Luke iii. 10-14.

[2] See p. 18.

able to see clearly exactly where this divergence comes. The true text of Josephus represents him as preaching first to a body of 'ascetics' and afterwards to many others. There is nothing in this to conflict with the Gospels, though it is so sufficiently different from them that no attempts ought to be made to regard the whole description as a Christian interpolation. The account in the Gospels of the general rush to hear John and be baptized by him obviously refers to the second stage of John's preaching, not to the first, and confirms rather than contradicts Josephus.

The real differences are in two points. First, Josephus entirely omits the eschatological element in John's preaching. Secondly, he represents John as advocating bodily purification in baptism as the crowning point of righteousness, not as a sign of repentance for the remission of sins. The first point is merely negative, but the second is positive and very striking.

It might be supposed that the emphasis which Josephus lays on the fact that John's baptism was not connected with the remission of sins goes to prove that he was consciously contradicting the Gospel tradition, and therefore acquainted with it. This may be so: clearly he is contradicting something. But it is doubtful whether this something is the Gospel tradition. It is at least as probable that his real meaning is to distinguish John's baptism from the ceremonial washings of the Jews, which could be interpreted as neutralising the effect of unintentional sins against the Law. His meaning would seem to be that he regarded the baptism of John as resembling that of the Essenes, in that it was not the antidote for sin or offences against the Law, but was an act of ἄσκησις.

Marcan tradition primitive.

Whether the representation of John's baptism in Josephus is in itself more probable than the Marcan tradition is perhaps difficult to say, but it may fairly be argued that the Marcan tradition would never have been invented by Christians, and is therefore probably correct. It is quite clear that the baptism of Jesus by John is an integral part of the earliest Christian narrative. It represents John baptizing for the remission of

sins, and the people being baptized and confessing their sins, and finally Jesus himself coming to be baptized. In view of the Christian teaching on the sinlessness of Jesus, is it probable that any Christian would have invented a story which could so easily be interpreted as an acted confession of sin by Jesus, or would have attributed remission of sins to a baptism which Jesus underwent, if the truth were that the baptism of John had really had the character described by Josephus? How improbable this is may be seen by the redactorial addition in Matthew to the Marcan story of the Baptism of Jesus, which makes John protest, "I have need to be baptized by thee, and comest thou to me?" and Jesus' reply, "Suffer it now, for thus it becomes us to fulfil all righteousness." The intention of the editor of Matthew clearly was to prevent an undesirable interpretation of the Marcan narrative, and for this purpose he introduced a view of John's baptism—to "fulfil all righteousness"—which is more in line with the account in Josephus, and shows that if that account had been generally current, Christians would have had no tendency to invent the Marcan tradition.

Had Luke and Josephus a common tradition?

In a somewhat similar way it might be thought that the account in Josephus of John's preaching resembles the passage peculiar to Luke so much as to suggest their use of a common tradition, for both agree in emphasising the moral nature of John's preaching. It would, however, be a mistake to exaggerate this resemblance, for the real difference between Josephus and the Gospels as a whole is that Josephus clearly represents him as preaching to those who had especially devoted their lives to virtue, and offering baptism as the crowning point of righteousness, whereas the Gospels, including Luke, represent the baptism of John as one of repentance for the remission of sins. This is in clear contradiction to Josephus, and shows that Luke cannot be quoted as supporting him unless the passage peculiar to Luke be not only taken by itself out of its present context, but also be violently implanted into a new context derived from Josephus.

With regard to the eschatological nature of John's preaching, the reason for preferring the tradition of Mark and Q to that of Josephus and Luke is simple. It is quite certain that Herod imprisoned John, and that he was identified by some, if not with the Messiah, at least with Elijah. These facts in combination are intelligible if the tradition of Mark and Q be followed: no government views with a friendly eye those who foretell its end, even by the act of God. But if Josephus and Luke iii. 10-14 be followed, the situation is inexplicable. No ruler has ever yet persecuted a teacher for telling men to be content with their wages, and no multitude ever regarded such a one as the Messiah or his forerunner.

The disciples of John.

How far John the Baptist founded a separate sect in Judaism which survived his death is difficult to say. In the earlier strata of the Synoptic Gospels there are two references to the disciples of John. In one they are pictured as more ascetic than the followers of Jesus, joining in fasts with the Pharisees;[1] in the other they are the intermediaries by whom John inquired whether Jesus were the Coming One.[2] Besides these explicit references certain general probabilities present themselves, and are supported by a few scattered and vague references in the Gospels and Acts.

It is *a priori* probable that the disciples of John did not all adopt the same attitude to Jesus, and that on the other hand the Christian view of John changed as time went on.

John and Jesus.

It is clear from the Marcan account of the baptism of Jesus by John, and by the question sent from his prison, that John had not originally recognised the "Coming One" in Jesus. The voice from Heaven and the vision of the descending Spirit are the experience of Jesus, not of John; and the question of John in prison is said to have been called forth by the fact that Jesus was accomplishing the works of the Messiah (*τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Χριστοῦ*). The absence of these, not their presence, might have made John doubt, if he had already held Jesus for the

[1] Mark ii. 18 ff.; cf. Matt. xi. 18 ff. [2] Matt. xi. 2–Luke vii. 18 ff.

Messiah; rising hope, not waning faith, is suggested by his question.[1]

The disciples of John and Jesus.

This is the foundation for any just estimate of the probable attitude of the disciples of John to Jesus; they were uncertain, for John himself had given them no clear guidance. Some were no doubt impressed by the teaching and acts of Jesus; they became his followers. Others may have gone to the other extreme and opposed Jesus. But probably there were more who, while accepting the preaching of Jesus, never thought of identifying him with the "Stronger One" of whom John had spoken. This class would in the end be indistinguishable from those followers of Jesus who had been with him in Galilee, but had never surmised the Messianic secret, or gone up to Jerusalem.[2] But we know nothing certain of any of these disciples of John; it is doubtful if any reliance can be placed on a confused tradition that some of them were merged in the sect of the Mandaeans,[3] and in general it seems certain that John's disciples soon disappeared.

The Christian attitude to John.

It is more important to notice the gradual change in the Christian attitude to John the Baptist which can be traced by a critical study of the Gospels. As soon as Jesus was recognised as the Messiah, John the Baptist was regarded as Elijah the "Forerunner." This is clearly very early: it is found in Q, where it is put into the mouth of Jesus,[4] but whether Jesus really can be thought to have said so, depends on the general estimate of Q and the fact that in the immediate context Kingdom of Heaven is a synonym for the Christian Church. Did Jesus use the phrase in this meaning? It seems improbable.

[1] A distinction must be made between the original narrative and the Matthaean version. Matthew no doubt interprets the question as due to waning faith, just as he makes John recognise Jesus in the Jordan. Similarly, too, Luke has embellished the narrative by making Jesus perform a special series of miracles in order to reassure John. The story is clearly older than its present setting, and the editorial changes in it are clearly visible.

[2] It is not unlikely that Apollos, and the Ephesians who knew nothing of the Spirit and had been baptized only with John's baptism, belonged to one or the other of these two cognate classes.

[3] W. Brandt, *Die mandäische Religion*, Leipzig, 1889, and *Mandäische Schriften*, Göttingen, 1893.

[4] Matt. xi. 14.

There is also a clear tendency not merely to regard John as the Forerunner, but to represent him as having consciously been so. This is very plain in the Fourth Gospel, where Jesus is pointed out by John to his disciples as the Lamb of God, to follow whom they left the Baptist. But it is scarcely less plain in Matthew, who inserts into the account of the Baptism an immediate recognition of Jesus by John, inconsistent with the implication of the Marcan narrative into which it is inserted. Similarly the editor of Luke makes the family of John closely related to that of Jesus; and Jesus is recognised by Elizabeth and her unborn child when the mother of the Lord paid her a visit.

This evidence, scanty though it is, clearly suggests that there was a tendency in early Christian literature to rewrite the story of John the Baptist, so as to bring him into conscious subordination to Jesus. It is not impossible that this may reflect a controversy between the disciples of Jesus and the disciples of John, and that at the time when the gospels were written there were still some disciples of John who did not recognise in Jesus the Stronger One of whom their master had spoken.

The story of the 'Bâb.'

A most instructive parallel in the history of religion is provided by the story of the Bâb in modern Islam.[1] The Bâb, whose name was Mirza Ali Muhammad, was a Persian reformer who was put to death in 1850. Fortunately Count Gobineau, the French Minister in Persia, was interested in him, and wrote an admirable account in his *Les Religions et les philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*. He also brought back and deposited in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris a MS. copy of the life of the Bâb by Haji Mirza Jani, his friend and contemporary. The Bâb appointed Mirza Yahya, under the title of Subh-i-Ezel, as his successor, but foretold "One who should come." When Beha,

[1] See E. G. Browne, *The Episode of the Bâb*, Cambridge, 1891, especially the introduction to the second volume, and *The New History of the Bâb*, Cambridge, 1893.

the brother of Subh-i-Ezel, claimed to fulfil this prophecy, the text of Gobineau's MS. was re-edited, in a manner which reminds the student of the New Testament of the relation of Matthew and Luke to Mark, and finally an entirely new story was written, showing about as much trace of the original narrative as the Fourth Gospel does of the Synoptic account. There are thousands of Behais now, many of them in America, and it is safe to say that few of them know the story of the origin of their cult, or would believe it if they were told.

The Bâb, both in the literary and religious history of the sect of Behaism, plays the same part as John the Baptist in Christianity. He also foretold the coming of a Mightier One, and the next generation of his followers identified this "One who should come" with his disciple Beha. A few years later the sect was known as Behaism; the story was rewritten as the history of Behaism, and ethics replaced eschatology. A small party refused Beha, and remained Bâbis, but they gradually lost vitality, and—most remarkable of all—are not mentioned in the literature of Behaism.

III. Divisions in Orthodox Judaism

(*a*) The Pharisees. Under Hasmoneans.

We first meet with the Pharisees in Josephus in the days of John Hyrcanus, the son of Simon, the last survivor of the five Maccabean brothers. John, whose high priesthood lasted from 135 to 105 B.C., was an able and warlike prince, and continued the tradition of his family as a strong upholder of the ancestral religion. Under him the Temple on Mount Gerizim was destroyed; the Idumaeans were conquered, and accepted, not apparently with much reluctance, the rite of circumcision.[1] Josephus is warm in his praise of John, and hints that the priestly gift of prophecy was not denied to him.[2] Such a ruler found his friends among the Pharisees until the severer members of the sect began to suspect that his ambitions

[1] *Antiq.* xiii. 9. 1.

[2] *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 7.

were temporal rather than those of a spiritual head of the nation. Accordingly, the Pharisee Eleazar suggested that John should lay aside his priestly as distinguished from his temporal office, because his mother, as Eleazar falsely alleged, had been a captive in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes,[1] and there was consequently some doubt as to his real descent. Hence the breach between the Maccabean house and the sect.[2] The feud which ensued was kept up till 78 B.C., when Alexander Jannaeus on his death-bed told his wife, Alexandra, to make terms with the Pharisees, whose popularity rendered them formidable.[3] Alexandra followed his advice, and enjoyed a prosperous reign of nine years. Three years after her death in 66 B.C., Pompey took Jerusalem and profaned the Temple. It is to this catastrophe that we owe the collection of Pharisaic psalms, attributed to Solomon.[4] From these it appears that the ideal of the sect was a kingdom of the House of David. To the Pharisees the priestly dynasty of the Hasmoneans was a mere usurpation, and this anti-clericalism, to

[1] The Talmud (*Kiddushin*, 66*a*) relates a dispute between "King Jannai and the Pharisees." As Hyrcanus is called "high priest" and never "king," it is possible that Alexander Jannaeus is meant. It may well be, however, that it really refers to John Hyrcanus, and that the Talmud has changed the name of the Jewish ruler, because Hyrcanus is regarded in it as a model high priest, there being nothing told to his discredit save that at the age of eighty (!) he joined the Sadducees. See Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, pp. 95-97.

[2] *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 5. [3] *Antiq.* xiii. 15. 5.

[4] The Psalms of Solomon were almost certainly written in Hebrew, but are now extant only in eight Greek MSS. and in a Syriac version (extant in two complete MSS. and a fragment) in combination with the quite different document called the Odes of Solomon. Some of the individual Psalms may be earlier, but there is a general consensus of opinion that there are many allusions to Pompey, and probably to his death (Ps. Sal. ii. 30 f.), so that the date of the collection must be somewhat later than 48 B.C. The Psalms are full of the antithesis between "the righteous" and "the sinners," and modern commentators are unanimous in identifying "the righteous" with the Pharisees. The best general account is given by G. B. Gray in Charles's *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. ii. pp. 625 ff. The Greek text is most accessible in H. B. Swete's edition of the Septuagint, and in Ryle and James's Ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος, *Psalms of the Pharisees*, 1891, which also gives a discussion of the facts and a full account of all the literature up to that date. Later literature is given by Gray (*op. cit.*) and more fully by J. Viteau, *Les Psaumes de Salomon*, Paris, 1911, pp. 240 ff. There is also valuable material in O. von Gebhardt, Ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος, 1895.

use a modern word, distinguishes them from the Sadducees. Their ideal state, like Ezekiel's and Dante's,[1] was not a priestly government, but the rule of a godly non-sacerdotal prince, prepared to enforce the observance of the Law. Their acceptance of tradition as explaining the Law, as is indicated below, had for its object to render workable in practice what, taken literally, had proved obsolete and impossible. Pharisaism was, in truth, more liberal and idealistic than Sadduceeism, and the Rabbis who divided the sect into seven classes, only two of which, those who fear and those who love God, are commended.[2]

Under Herod.

Herod the Great, a man more capable than any of the Hasmoneans, attempted to make the Jews a flourishing nation. With great skill he faced the impossible task of conciliating the Romans while remaining on good terms with his neighbours, and not offending the Jewish Scribes. Sameas (Shemaia) the Pharisee, and his master Pollio (Abtalion), had been highly favoured by Herod for having opened the gates of Jerusalem to his army in 37 B.C.[3] But the conspiracy in favour of Herod's brother, Pheroras, in which the Eunuch Bagoas was implicated, was prompted by the Pharisaic hopes,[4] and the revolt of Judas of

[1] Cf. Ezek. xl.-xlviii., especially xlv. 22-25, xlviii. 21-22. Professor Toy says of the prince (*nasi*) in his article on Ezekiel, *Ency. Bibl.* col. 1471 : "The prince is a servant of the temple, subordinate in this sphere to the priests ; it is a genuine separation of Church and State." See also *The Parting of the Roads* (Arnold, 1912), Art. 1, by F. J. Foakes Jackson. Dante, in his *De Monarchia*, exalts the Emperor above the Pope in all secular matters ; and, in the *Divina Commedia*, papal usurpation of authority is consistently denounced. In the *Paradiso* we see what high hopes the poet indulged that the Emperor, Henry VII. of Luxembourg, would restore the balance by his coming to Italy.

[2] See the article on Pharisees in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*. The seven classes, of which five consist of eccentric fools or hypocrites, are found in an ancient *baraita*. The references given are to the Jerusalem Talmud, *Berachoth* (Blessings), ix. 14*b*; *Sotah*, 22*b*, and to Schechter's edition of the *Aboth of R. Nathan*, pp. 55, 62.

[3] Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 1. 1. Shemaiah and Abtalion form the fourth of the five couples—Hillel and Shammai being the last—who are said to have presided over the Sanhedrin. *Aboth* (fathers), i. 4-12. See C. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, pp. 28 and 32 ; Montet, *Origines des partis sadducéen et phariséen* (Paris, 1883).

[4] *Antiq.* xvii. 2. 4.

Galilee in A.D. 6 was supported by Sadduk, a Pharisee. Upon the whole, however, the Pharisees were more anxious to observe the Law than to interfere in politics.

Doctrine.

Josephus states that the Pharisees differed from the Sadducees on the question of Free Will and Determinism. He represents the Essenes as absolute fatalists and the Sadducees as insisting on free will; but declares that the Pharisees took a middle path, saying that, though God has foreseen everything, man is allowed to make his choice between good and evil. As a Pharisee himself he finds consolation in the thought that Jerusalem and the Temple fell in accordance with the will of God, since inanimate objects can no more escape their destiny (*εἱμαρμένη*) than men.[1] According to him the Pharisees believed that the souls of good men return to life in other bodies, and that those of the bad are eternally punished. In *B.J.* ii. 8. 14 he says that they think that "every soul is incorruptible, but that only the souls of the good pass over (*μεταβαίνειν*) to other bodies, and those of the wicked are chastised with eternal punishment." In the parallel passage in *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 3 we read that the souls of the evil are to be "detained in an everlasting prison," but the souls of the good "will have easy access to living again (*ῥᾳστώτην τοῦ ἀναβιοῦν*[2])."

It is, of course, not impossible that Josephus, or the Pharisees, meant that this "living again" and passing over to another body would be the result of the Resurrection. If so, however, it is not a "resurrection of the body," but the vivification of a new body with an old soul; and the resemblance to the fifteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians is obvious and significant. The existence of this exposition of doctrine in Josephus has been somewhat overlooked, but it is clearly of the utmost importance for the understanding, not only of the Jewish doctrine of the Resurrection, but also of the popular belief in the return of Elijah or of

[1] Josephus, *B.J.* ii. 8. 14, and *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 3.

[2] It is interesting to notice that this word is used of the resurrection of Jesus in the *Apology of Aristides*, xv. (*μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀνεβίω*).

others of the prophets, and may have had its influence on the Pauline doctrine of the indwelling Christ. There appears to be no other equally full statement of Pharisaic opinion on the subject of a future life.

Law and tradition.

But the distinguishing feature of Pharisaism was its reverence for tradition as supplementing the Law. The Sadducees are said by Josephus to have maintained that the Law, and nothing but the Law, was binding, but the Pharisees considered that the obligations prescribed in the Law had been modified by tradition. This tradition, according to the Rabbis, Moses had delivered to Joshua, Joshua to the Elders, the Elders to the Prophets, the Prophets to the Men of the Great Synagogue. "They said three things: Be deliberate in judgment; and raise up many disciples; and make a fence to the Law." The last is interpreted by C. Taylor,[1] "Impose additional restrictions so as to keep at a safe distance from forbidden ground," thus sanctioning additions to explain and amplify the Law, not, however, to make it burdensome, but to facilitate its fulfilment.

(*b*) The Sadducees. Origin of name.

Various interpretations of the name Sadducee have been given, but the most probable derives it from Zadok the priest, who, under Solomon, supplanted Abiathar. Ezekiel, when he reconstructed the ideal Temple at Jerusalem, prescribed that no one should be allowed to exercise the priestly office in it but those who were sons of Zadok (Ezek. xliv. 15). If such be the case, it might be expected that the party of the priesthood would adopt a name derived from their ancestor who acted as priest in the earliest days of the Temple, and the evidence both of Josephus and of the New Testament is strongly in favour of the Sadducees being in general the priestly party as opposed to the popular sect of the Pharisees. It would, however, be a mistake to regard this distinction as universally and exclusively true, and to lay too much stress on the Sadducees being the priestly party. The passages commonly quoted in

[1] *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, p. 25.

support of this are Acts v. 17 and *Antiq.* xx. 9. 1; but the fact that Josephus specially informs us that Ananus II., the High Priest who condemned James the Just and quarrelled with Albinus, was a Sadducee, shows that it was not a matter of course that the holder of the office should attach himself to that party, and in *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 4 he expressly says that the Sadducees were unwilling to accept public offices.

Legendary origin.

When we turn to the Rabbinical writers we find a legend that two sects originated from the disciples of Antigonus of Socho (third century B.C.), in consequence of his famous saying: "Be not as slaves which minister to the Lord with a view to receive recompense; but be as slaves that minister to the Lord without a view to receive recompense." Thereupon two of his disciples, Zadok and Boethus, understood that their master meant to deny a future life, and in the spirit of "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," decided to live in luxury, and from them arose the sects of the Sadducees and Boethusians.[1] The unhistorical character of this story is shown by the representation of the Sadducees elsewhere as extremely rigorous in judgment; and when, in the time of the widow of Jannaeus, Alexandra Salome (76–67 B.C.), their code was abolished by the Sanhedrin, under Solomon ben Shetah the Pharisee, the day was kept as a festival. From the earlier Rabbinic writers the Sadducees appear to have had many regulations different from those of the Pharisees; but their disputes turn mainly on legal points, the Sadducees being on the whole supporters of the priesthood and of a more literally conservative interpretation of the Law than their rivals.[2]

Doctrine.

The New Testament and Josephus are in general accord in regard to Sadducean doctrine and opinions. The sect first

[1] The evidence for this is very late. It is found in the *Aboth of R. Nathan* (eleventh century), which quotes a Midrash to this effect. See *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, "Boethusians."

[2] See p. 87 for the reason why the Rabbinic statements in the Talmud as to the Sadducees are peculiarly open to doubt; and for instances of the differences in teaching between Sadducees and Pharisees see Appendix D.

appears under John Hyrcanus (135–105 B.C.), who espoused their cause when the Pharisees had given offence by recommending that a light sentence should be passed on Eleazar; but after this we hear nothing of them till the days of the New Testament. Josephus says of the Sadducees: (1) They rejected the 'Tradition,' and only held to be obligatory what they found in the written word.[1] (2) They were rich, and not as popular as the Pharisees.[2] (3) Their followers were only those of the highest rank.[3] (4) They denied that man is under the constraining influence of 'fate' (εἱμαρμένη), the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and rewards and punishment after death.[4] (5) They held their opinions rather as private individuals than as magistrates; for, when in office, they had to defer to the Pharisees in order to conciliate the public.[5]

In the Gospels the Sadducees are only once mentioned by Mark, in connexion with the question about the seven brethren in the Resurrection;[6] in Matthew they come with the Pharisees to John's baptism,[7] and they are substituted for Mark's Herodians in the injunction to beware of the leaven.[8] In Luke they are only mentioned in the question about a resurrection, taken from Mark,[9] and are unnoticed in the Fourth Gospel. All therefore to be inferred from the Gospels is that the Sadducees denied the Resurrection and were one of the two leading sects. In Acts they appear three times: in iv. 1, in connexion with the High Priest and the στρατηγός of the Temple, as arresting the Apostles; in v. 17, with the chief priests under similar circumstances. In the account of the debate in the Sanhedrin, some wished to put the Apostles to death (if the reading be correct); but the Pharisee Gamaliel advised moderation. Finally, in xxiii. 6, we find Paul before the Sanhedrin, composed of Pharisees and Sadducees, appealing to the one against the other; and we are told that the Sadducees denied a resurrection, angels, and

[1] *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 6; xviii. 1. 4.
[2] *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 6. Cf. also xviii. 1. 4.
[3] *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 4.
[4] *B.J.* ii. 8. 14.
[5] *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 4.
[6] Mark xii. 18.
[7] Matt. iii. 7.
[8] Matt. xvi. 1 ff.
[9] Luke xx. 27.

spirits. Thus, both in Acts and Josephus, their distinguishing tenet is the denial of a resurrection. The rejection of angels and spirits is not mentioned by Josephus, but, as in the New Testament, the Sadducees appear to have had sympathies with the ruling class, and to have been harsher in judgment and more impatient of innovation than the Pharisees, to whom both Josephus and Acts ascribe a disposition to mercy.

Boethusians.

Closely connected with the Sadducees, as we have seen, are the family—for they can hardly be termed the sect—of the Boethusians. They probably really are derived from Boethus, the father of Simon, an Alexandrian whom Herod made High Priest in order to marry his daughter Mariamne, not to be confused with Herod's Hasmonean wife of the same name. This was in 26 or 25 B.C., and from that time down to the Fall of Jerusalem the family frequently enjoyed the High Priesthood. The Rabbinical writings have allusions to the Boethusians as a sect of the Sadducees; but their questions mainly turn on points of ritual.[1]

It does not seem necessary to class all the ruling priests as Sadducees or Boethusians; but it is natural that they should be attracted by ideas favoured by a select few, mostly rich men, rather than by those of a popular party like the Pharisees.

(c) Jewish teachers in early Christian times.

The chief Jewish teachers contemporary with the New Testament known to us by name are Hillel, Shammai, Gamaliel the Elder, and Johanan ben Zakkai.

Hillel.

Hillel was a Babylonian, and a contemporary of Herod the Great. He found his way to Jerusalem, and, despite extreme poverty, became a student of the Law. The whole aim of his interpretation was the bettering (*Tikkun*) of Israel. In character

[1] Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 9. 3. Simon the son of Boethus was an Alexandrian. For the succession of the Boethusian pontiffs see Derenbourg, *op. cit.* p. 156. Derenbourg on p. 137 gives an account of a controversy in which the Boethusians maintained their view that Pentecost could only be kept on the first day of the week.

he is represented as gentle and kindly: the story is told of him that to a would-be proselyte, who would only listen while he could stand on one leg, he explained the Law in the well-known saying, "What is hateful to thyself do not to another."[1] Like Paul in the case of Timothy, he seems to have accepted an Alexandrian, whose right to be reckoned as a Jew was disputed, on the marriage document (*Ketubbah*) of his mother. Though he was held in the highest honour, no miracles are credited to Hillel.[2]

Shammai.

Shammai, the rival and contemporary of Hillel, is nearly always mentioned together with him; and in the Talmud the characteristic of his teaching is its unbending severity, though he is represented as not lacking in amiable qualities.[3] Both these teachers are better known as the founders of two schools, the Beth-Hillel and the Beth-Shammai.[4] These are not, as is frequently assumed, to be classed as Pharisees and Sadducees, though the tendencies they exhibit are not unlike those of the great sects.

School of Hillel.

The principles of Hillel were continued by his family;[5] but the great representative of the more liberal side of Judaism is Johanan ben Zakkai, whose school at Jabneh, after the destruction of Jerusalem, laid the foundation of Rabbinic practice and theology. He represents the pacific school of the Pharisees.

[1] Cf. Matt. vii. 12; Did. i. 2; Aristides, 15; Apost. Const. i. 1; Tobit, iv. 15; and Philo quoted by Eusebius, *Praep. Evan.* viii. 7; and see G. Resch, *Texte und Unters.* xxviii. 3, p. 134, and the notes on Matt. vii. 12 in A. Resch's *Aussercanon. Paralleltexte*, and in the commentary on Acts xv. 20, 29.

[2] Aucun personnage de l'antiquité rabbinique n'est plus connu que Hillel. Sa pauvreté et son abnégation, tant qu'il fut jeune; sa patience et sa mansuétude, lorsqu'il enseigna dans son école; la science et la sagacité qu'il déploya dans la discussion, sont devenues populaires, et il sera difficile de démêler ce qu'il y a de vrai dans les anecdotes que le Thalmud a conservées, et ce que la poésie légendaire de la nation y a ajouté (Derenbourg, *op. cit.* p. 181).

[3] See Derenbourg, *op. cit.* p. 189.

[4] Derenbourg, *op. cit.* pp. 176 ff.; *Jewish Ency.*, arts. "Hillel" and "Shammai," and also "Bet Hillel" and "Bet Shammai." Three hundred and sixteen controversies between these 'schools' are preserved in the Talmud, and in only fifty-five instances were the Shammaites on the side of leniency.

[5] The succession appears to have been Hillel, Simon I., Gamaliel I., Simon II., Gamaliel II.

When the strife of parties became unendurable he escaped from Jerusalem in a coffin. He settled at Jabneh (Jamnia), where he founded his famous school. Like Josephus, he escaped from his distracted countrymen to the Romans, but the Jews held him in the highest honour, though Josephus does not so much as mention his name.[1] Gamaliel (or Gamliel) I., well known to readers of Acts, is perhaps in reality the most shadowy figure of all.[2] Josephus (*Vita*, 38) implies that he was a Pharisee by his statement that his son Simon belonged to the sect, but the Rabbinical traditions concerning him often confuse him with his grandson Gamaliel II. He is credited with having been the first of the seven teachers who received the title of Rabban, and according to Jewish tradition he succeeded his grandfather Hillel and his father Simon as *nasi* and first president of the Sanhedrin. We possess three letters from him, two to Galilee and one to the Diaspora; the tradition that he ordered the removal of the Targum of Job from Jerusalem is our oldest evidence for a Targum. He is not called a Pharisee except in Acts v. 34 ff., and the only early statement that he ever taught is that of Acts xxii. 3; but there is a saying of his preserved in the *Aboth of R. Nathan*, comparing his pupils to fish.

(*d*) The Herodians.

The Herodians are twice mentioned in Mark iii. 6 and xii. 13 (cf. the parallel in Matt. xxii. 16) as conspiring with the Pharisees against Jesus. The only reason for considering them as a religious sect is the absurd statement of Epiphanius that they interpreted the words of Gen. xlix. 10 ("The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, etc."), of Herod—presumably Herod the Great; but probability and the form of the word in Latin suggest that they were the partisans of Herod. The Herod of the Gospels being Antipas, Tetrarch of Galilee,

[1] There is an interesting article on Johanan ben Zakkai in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. See also Burkitt's account in his *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, p. 8, also E. Levine in *The Parting of the Roads*, p. 299. Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, devotes a chapter to Johanan (chap. xix.).

[2] See *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, art. "Gamaliel."

'Herodian' would then naturally mean one of his court or of his party. It is noticeable that in Mark these 'Herodians' appear once in Galilee and once in Jerusalem on an occasion when, according to Luke, Herod was in that city.

Herods as benefactors.

Although there is no other evidence as to the existence of a party, much less a sect, of Herodians, some Jews may have fixed their hopes on the Herodian family as saviours of the nation. Herod the Great certainly did all in his power to conciliate his Jewish subjects, especially the Pharisaic party. His rebuilding of the Temple was a truly splendid bid for popularity; and though it failed in its object, it must have impressed many with a sense of Herod's value to the Jewish State. Of Herod's sons and successors, Archelaus proved a complete failure; but Philip, as tetrarch of Ituraea (4 B.C. to A.D. 34), was regarded as a model ruler, and Antipas governed Galilee and Peraea with the marked approval of Tiberius. It is possible that Antipas's marriage was prompted by a politic desire to secure Jewish support by an alliance with a Hasmonean princess.[1] The Baptist's disapproval of this may well have been, as Mark says, the cause of his execution; and Herod's attitude to Jesus may be accounted for in the same manner. Herod Agrippa at a later date was accepted by the Jews as the best of kings, being, like his sister Herodias, a Hasmonean on the mother's side.

IV. The Formal Separation from Judaism

Samaritans.

Both Acts and the Third Gospel show an interest in the Samaritans. In the Old Testament their origin is traced to the Cuthean settlers whom Esarhaddon (682–669 B.C.) placed in the cities of Samaria. They are described in the decidedly malicious account given in 2 Kings xvii. as instructed by a priest of Bethel in the worship of Jahveh but combining it with idolatrous practices. But in the Book of Ezra they profess to serve Jahveh

[1] See Chs. I. and III.

as the Jews did;[1] and Zerubbabel, in repulsing them, says nothing of their idolatry, of which no proof exists. Two generations later we find their leader Sanballat hindering Nehemiah's work, but at the same time in alliance with the High Priest Eliashib, to whom he was related by marriage. Josephus, by confusion of dates, makes Sanballat a contemporary of Alexander the Great, a century later than Nehemiah.[2] In Ecclesiasticus they appear as a schismatical sect, "The foolish people who dwell in Shechem."

Samaritans and the Law.

The bitterest hostility existed between Jews and Samaritans, but this did not prevent their frequent agreement in matters of belief. It is significant that in many points the Samaritans, who owed their temple to a priestly revolt against the layman Nehemiah, are said to have had an affinity with the Sadducees. Though Josephus says that Shechem had become a place of refuge for Jews who had broken the Law, the Samaritans obtained a qualified recognition at Jerusalem, and were admitted to the precincts of the Temple. Their Halaka was in many respects stricter than that of the Rabbis, especially as regards the observance of the Sabbath, and one of the Rabbis, Simon ben Gamaliel (A.D. 165), commended them as being more scrupulous than the Jews. They were to be restored to Judaism, according to the *Masseket Kutim*, when they renounced Gerizim and confessed Jerusalem and the Resurrection of the dead.[3] The Samaritan canon is restricted to the Law, and in no sense extends to the Prophets and Hagiographa.[4] On the whole,

[1] Ezra iv. 2. They claim that they seek the same god as the Jews, and say that they have done sacrifice to him since the days of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, "which brought us up hither."

[2] This question is discussed below, pp. 140 ff.

[3] In J. A. Montgomery's *The Samaritans* (Philadelphia, 1907), chapter xi., there is a summary of all the legislation regarding the relation of the Jews to Samaritans in the treatise *Masseket Kutim* (Cutheans, *i.e.* Samaritans).

[4] The refusal to accept aught but the Law was not, perhaps, from a Jewish standpoint in any way heretical. See C. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* (1877), p. 119 (Excursus I.). R. Johanan said: "The prophets and the Hagiographa will cease, but the five books of the Torah will not cease." See also another saying in *op. cit.*, Excursus on *The Sadducees*, p. 128.

Samaritanism, like the sects in the Russian Church, was always more conservative than the parent church of Jerusalem.

It is not possible to obtain complete certainty as to the belief of the Samaritans in the first century, for our evidence is all derived from Samaritan documents which are considerably later than the facts described; from Christian writers, who are in the main no earlier and far less trustworthy; and from the rather extensive correspondence between the Samaritans and scholars in Europe in the seventeenth century.[1]

Samaritan peculiarities of doctrine.

The points of importance are: (1) The complete restriction of the Scriptures to the Pentateuch, and a corresponding exaltation of Moses. (2) The belief that Gerizim, not Zion, was the Mount of God, and that Gerizim was the appointed place for the Temple and the ritual of the Pentateuch. (3) A belief that in the last days there would arise a prophet, either like Moses or actually a reincarnation of Moses, who was called the *Taheb* (תהב), meaning either "the Restorer" or possibly "he who returns." He would restore the days of grace, which had ended with the backsliding of Eli, and after living one hundred and ten years would die. There would follow the day of judgment and resurrection, when the righteous would go to the Garden of Eden, and the wicked would be burned. It is, however, possible that some of this belief is a later accretion, as, according to Origen,[2] the Samaritans denied not only a Resurrection, but even all future life. On the other hand, Justin Martyr[3] declares that the Samaritans believed in a future Messiah, which may refer to the belief in the *Taheb*, though as Justin also states that they derived their belief from the Prophets, confidence in his statement is shaken.[4]

Samaritans in N.T.

Two attitudes towards the Samaritans can be traced in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts.

[1] See J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, p. 3.

[2] In Matt. xxii. 23, ed. Delarue, p. 811, and *Hom.* xxv. p. 365.

[3] 1 Apol. 53.

[4] According to Epiphanius, the Samaritans, like the Jews, were divided into sects (see p. 84).

(*a*) In the instructions to the Twelve in Matt. x. 5, Samaria is coupled with the Gentile world and is excluded from the mission-field of the Twelve. "Go not into a way of the Gentiles, and enter not into any city of the Samaritans." [1] This appears to represent the opinion of one of the editors of the First Gospel as to the attitude of Jesus and of the first disciples towards the Samaritans. Whether the same editor is responsible for Matt. xxviii. 19 ("Go ye into all the world and make disciples of all the heathen") must remain doubtful. Whoever inserted this passage clearly regarded it as cancelling Matt. x. 5, but the latter verse is probably evidence that some circles of Christians claimed the authority of Jesus for not preaching either to Gentiles or Samaritans.

Was this also the attitude of Mark? There is no decisive evidence, for in the Marcan narrative Samaria and the Samaritans are not mentioned. All that can be said is that, according to Mark, Jesus preached only in Galilee and to Jews in the district of Tyre and Sidon, for the Gentile woman of Syrophenicia in Mark vii. 26 is clearly intended as the "exception which proves the rule" in the true sense of that phrase.

(*b*) In the Third Gospel and in Acts the opposite view is clearly maintained, that Jesus and His disciples ranked the Samaritans with the Jews rather than with the Gentiles. This may perhaps be seen in the parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke x. 25 ff.) and in the story of the grateful Samaritan leper (Luke xvii. 11 ff.), but is clearest in Luke ix. 52, which represents the Samaritans as rejecting Jesus when he tried to approach them, and in Acts i. 8, when Samaria is coupled with Judaea. It is also implied by the general narrative which represents the Apostles as willing to preach and baptize in Samaria, but

[1] It is sometimes held that these injunctions were only intended to apply to a special journey of the Twelve. It is of course possible that this was the meaning of Matthew as it stands now, but the editor has actually omitted from the Marcan narrative, which he has combined with these instructions, all those details which might imply that a special journey was intended. Cf. Mark iii. 13 ff., vi. 6 ff. with Matt. x. 1 ff., and note especially the absence in Matthew of any parallel to Mark vi. 12 or to vi. 30.

requiring a special revelation before they would approach the Gentile Cornelius. Moreover, in the account of Philip's work in the "city of Samaria," Simon is represented as an enemy, not because he was a Samaritan, but because he was a μάγος, who was declared to be the Great Power of God.

Samaritans in Josephus.

In the Fourth Gospel there is nothing but the story of the woman at the Well of Samaria and the use of Samaritan by the Jews as a term of abuse in John viii. 48;[1] but it is clear that the Johannine tradition, like the Lucan, desired to represent Jesus as accepting Samaritans.

Josephus declares that the Samaritans were friendly with the Jews when they were in prosperity, but hostile when things went badly in Judaea; a statement which is hardly borne out by facts. Under Pilate a fanatic assembled an armed crowd, promising to show them the sacred vessels hidden by Moses on Gerizim, and Pilate's severity in quelling the disturbance led to his recall.[2] This would be in A.D. 36; and in about the year 52, under Cumanus, there was a serious quarrel between the Jews and the Samaritans owing to a massacre of Galilean pilgrims and consequent reprisals. On the outbreak of the war the Samaritans suffered with the Jews; Sebaste (Samaria) was burned[3] in A.D. 66; and the following year witnessed a Samaritan revolt against Rome, suppressed by Vespasian's officer Cerealis. After A.D. 70 the Samaritans suffered for their religion together with the Jews.[4] On the whole we may perhaps infer that the Samaritans differed less from the Jews than is supposed, and that the undoubted mutual hostility has been exaggerated.

[1] The story of the Woman of Samaria supplies the following details: (1) That the disciples went into the city of Sychar to buy food—presumably, therefore, Samaritan food was regarded as clean; (2) the contradictory statement that the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans,—though this is possibly an addition to the text; (3) the remark of the woman claiming that she was a descendant of Jacob, and that her fathers "worshipped on this mountain" (Gerizim); (4) that the difference between Jews and Samaritan turned on the proper place of the Sanctuary; (5) the recognition by the woman that Messiah will come; (6) that many of the Samaritans believed on Jesus—in contradiction to Luke ix. 52.

[2] *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 1-2.

[3] *B.J.* ii. 18. 1.

[4] *B.J.* iii. 7. 32.

Both from Acts and Josephus it appears that they were equally susceptible to revolutionary influences.

V. The Ignorant or "People of the Land"—the ʿAme ha-'areṣ

The People of the Land.

The relation of the stricter Jews towards the so-called "people of the land" (*ʿAmē ha-Areṣ*) is a question of some difficulty, needing careful discussion.[1] It has been held by many, including the writer of the Third Gospel, that the Pharisees represented the rich and the people the poor, and that the mission of Jesus was intended for the humble and ignorant. But this scarcely represents the feeling of the time. Judaism was, it is true, sacerdotal and aristocratic in the neighbourhood of the Temple; but elsewhere it ignored distinctions of rank among Israelites. The Temple worship existed because of the Law, which every good Jew made the supreme object of life to observe, even though he could only on rare occasions offer sacrifice. But to observe the Law a profound knowledge of its requirements was needed, demanding long and arduous study. Consequently learning and religion went hand in hand, and a truly pious Jew had to be expert in all the subtleties of the Law. An aristocracy of learning open to all grew up, independent of birth or official rank, in which a proselyte, like Aquila, or one who confesses that he had been an *ʿAm ha-'ares*, like Akiba, might take a leading place, whilst the High Priest himself might be rigidly excluded by his ignorance.

Judaism a learned religion.

Thus the *ʿAm ha-'ares* was separated by a formidable barrier from the learned Jews, which, however, he could surmount by obtaining proficiency in the Law. With all its faults the legalism of Judaism has had its advantage in making knowledge a necessary part of religion; and the high intelligence displayed by the Jewish race is in a great measure due to the fact that the discipline

[1] The details are discussed at greater length in Appendix E, by Prof. G. F. Moore. See above, Ch. II.

of learning the Law has been continued for many generations. To be a devout Jew a man has had to become somewhat of a trained lawyer; and dreary as the Talmud seems to the uninitiated, it has proved (like the Mathematical Tripos and Greats) of great value to those who subsequently apply themselves to other pursuits. Devout Jews formed themselves into *haberim* (societies) in order to maintain the distinction between themselves and the *'Ame ha-'ares*, whose ignorance of the Law rendered them liable to contract ceremonial impurity.

VI. The Apocalyptic Thought and Literature

Rabbis and history.

The Jewish Rabbis were interested in conduct, and their main object was to explain a law designed to produce a perfect man, living in all respects in accordance with the will of God. They cared little for history, except in so far as it interpreted their code. Nevertheless among the Jews, as in every other nation, there were some to whom history appealed; less, however, as a statement of events than as an explanation of their causes and mutual relation. The modern man, who is in this respect the descendant of the Greeks, endeavours to produce a philosophy of history agreeing with his own theory of the universe: and to do so he investigates facts in accordance with laws of evidence derived ultimately from the logic of Aristotle. The Jewish writer knew nothing of Aristotelian logic: his view of the universe was not only different from ours but wholly contradictory to it; and he cared little for accurate statement.

Old Testament philosophy of history.

The earliest philosophy of history which can be traced in the literature of Israel is expressed in the Book of Deuteronomy. It was the simple theory that when Israel was faithful to the Lord it prospered, and when it was unfaithful it suffered adversity. The theory was worked out in the Books of Samuel and Kings, and in a cruder and more mechanical manner by the

Chronicler. It can be traced still further in the writings of Josephus, and in a Christianised form in the *Church History* of Eusebius. It was held firmly by the prophets, but many of the predictions which they made on the strength of it remained unfulfilled. Therefore there arose a school of writers who took up and reinterpreted the more picturesque of the unfulfilled predictions of the prophets, especially such passages as Isaiah xxiv. to xxvii., the last chapters of Ezekiel, and parts of Zechariah. To these they added new and gorgeous imagery of their own, much of which is probably drawn from ancient Babylonian and Persian sources.

Interests of Apocalyptic.

In this way, just as the study of the Law produced the Mishna, the study of the history of unfulfilled prophecy produced the Apocalyptic Pseudepigrapha. While the legalist concerned himself with the Law, to solve the problem, "What shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?" and found guidance in the written and unwritten Law of Moses, the writers of this literature were interested in history and prophecy, in the past, present, and future of Israel. They sought inspiration from the ancient records of the human race and of the fathers of Israel preserved in Genesis, and from the ecstatic utterances of the Hebrew prophets. But it is misleading to draw a hard-and-fast line between the two schools of thought. The legalist could sometimes share in the enthusiasm of the visionary, who, in turn, might be, for all his dreams and revelations, zealous for the Law. Just as a priest or a Rabbi might belong to any one of the sects of the Jews, so there was no reason why the philosophy of history should have been in the hands of one sect rather than another. It is no doubt true that in the main the members of the same sect held similar opinions and interests, but though the fullest allowance be made for this, adherents of various sects might occupy themselves with the philosophy of history, and even adopt the same methods. It is therefore not surprising that traces of all the sects have been found in the Apocalypses. But after all the main thing

is to set forth the literary method of the writers of this literature and their theory of history.

Chief Apocalypses.

The chief Jewish Apocalypses are the following:[1] the Book of Daniel, the Ethiopic Enoch, the Assumption of Moses, the Slavonic Enoch, the Apocalypse of Ezra (4 Ezra), the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch, the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch, the "Book of Baruch," the Apocalypse of Abraham, the Greek Life of Adam, and the Latin Life of Adam and Eve.

With them may be reckoned also the Psalms of Solomon, the Book of Jubilees, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the Sibylline Oracles, all of which represent a mixture of apocalyptic hopes with other interests. The Book of Jubilees, for instance, is in the main a legal book, while the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs is very largely a moral treatise. There is nothing surprising in this, for it is in itself entirely natural that those who are interested in the philosophy of history should endeavour to set it out in relation to other subjects; and this especial philosophy had always as its practical object the heartening and comfort of the righteous in affliction by explaining the will and purposes of God. It is in this respect that the Apocalyptists approach most nearly to the Prophets. The difference between them is that the prophets in general represent God's purposes as at least in part conditional on men's conduct. Though the Prophets foretell the future, they acknowledge that the actual events depend on what men do. Thus the doctrine of a free will is in the main characteristic of their teaching; and the prophets, like the legalists, were above all anxious to direct the will of man aright. But the Apocalyptists are determinists: they regard history as the working out of a predestined plan, of which they explain either the whole or some part. Nothing can change it. It is true that even the Apocalyptists never fully extended this determinism to individuals,—it is

[1] The most convenient translation is R. H. Charles's *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament.*

one of history, not of individual character and destiny.[1] Individuals may achieve salvation or damnation by their conduct, but the individual is rarely the centre of Apocalyptic interest. The point which the writers emphasised was that the plan as a whole is fixed, arranged in periods of chronology, and cannot be changed, and that it is so ordered that, properly understood, it ought to be of infinite comfort to the oppressed righteous, heartening him patiently to endure to the end.

Period of Jewish Apocalyptic literature.

The Apocalyptic period in Judaism between the publication of Daniel and the appearance of the Syriac Baruch and 4 Ezra embraces some three centuries (165 B.C.–A.D. 120). Daniel is the earliest, and is followed by the groundwork of the present Book of Enoch, chapters i.-xxxvi. and lxxii.-cviii., which is assigned to about 100 B.C. This book is really a collection of a large Enochian literature. The Apocalypses of Baruch and Ezra are perhaps the latest, and are almost contemporary with the chief writings of the New Testament. None of these books have survived in their original Jewish form in Hebrew or Aramaic, with the exception of the canonical Book of Daniel. Most have been enshrined in translations, many of which have only recently been recovered. They are, moreover, only a few remnants of a much greater literature which consisted of many books. All are late in date, but all ascribed to early writers. This discrepancy between the facts and the titles gave rise to various artifices of explanation, of which that in 4 Ezra[2] is the most complete.

According to this, in Ezra's time the Bible was lost, and Ezra by inspiration restored it with the assistance of an angel. The incident is thus related in chap. xiv. 44 ff.:

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[1] As Akiba is reported to have said: "All is foreseen by God, and the power of Choice is given to man" (*Aboth*, 3. 19). Cf., too, Hanina's saying: "All is in the power of Heaven, except the fear of God," which means that God can do everything except make a man religious (*Berachoth*, 33*b*). The contrast between this and Paul, and still more Calvin, is remarkable.

[2] 4 Ezra is the technical term for chaps. iv.-xiv. of 2 Esdras in the Apocrypha, also known as the "Fourth Book of Esdras."

Legendary recovery of the Scriptures, Canonical and Apocryphal.

So in forty days were written ninety-four books. And it came to pass when the forty days were fulfilled, that the most High spake unto me saying: The twenty-four books that thou hast written, publish, that the unworthy may read therein; but the seventy last thou shalt keep, to deliver them to the wise among thy people. For in them is the spring of understanding, the fountain of wisdom, and the stream of knowledge.

That is to say, twenty-four books are the canonical scriptures of the Jews, open to all men. The seventy others are not for profane eyes; only the wise may read them, for they alone can appreciate their meaning. The point of the story is to explain why these books which claimed such antiquity had not previously been known. It is exactly the same motive which makes the writer of Daniel state that he had been bidden to seal up the vision. The books were represented as having been the possession of a select circle, and dealt with mysteries which were not for the profane. There is little reason for thinking that this was really true. Few books are ever circulated privately, except when a larger public is not to be obtained.

Definition of Apocalyptic.

The word Apocalyptic as applied to these secret books needs definition. It is the disclosure of that which is beyond human knowledge.[1] The seer is dealing not so much with human events as with divine, and this is characteristic of Apocalyptic works. The writers tell partly the history of the past, partly the history of the future, and partly they explain the mysteries of the natural and spiritual world, but they do so, not in order to relate facts or even to influence conduct, but to explain principles and causes, and—quite especially—chronology. These causes and principles are indeed very different from those with which the modern student of the philosophy of history operates, but the intention was similar.

The difference between apocalyptic and prophetic writing is easier to appreciate than to define. In general it may be said that prophecy is usually national and moral, while the

[1] Cf. Torrey in *Jewish Ency.*, "Apocalyptic Literature."

Apocalyptists pay more attention to systems of chronology, in the 'How' and 'When' of history. The centre of their interest was not, as ours is, the accurate presentment of the facts of history, but rather the elaborate schematising of events and dates, spending much ingenuity in arranging history into a fixed and symmetrical system of chronology which governed rather than expressed its course. They were the direct ancestors of Julius Africanus and the author of the *De Pascha Computus*. They are concerned with the relation between events in heaven and the kingdoms and empires of the world, and therefore they spoke of angels, demons, and the supramundane representatives of men and nations who operated partly in accordance with the will of God, partly in opposition to it, and so produced that strange mixture of motives and curious combination of creation and destruction which makes up the history of the world.

The Book of Daniel an Apocalypse.

None of the earlier books of the Old Testament are apocalyptic, and even among the later ones none has so exclusively that character as to be called an Apocalypse, except the Book of Daniel. In this there are a series of visions, in which the relation between events in heaven and the kingdoms and empires of the world is explained. The seer beholds Israel in the centre of every scene which is presented to the eyes of his imagination, but not as isolated from the world. The allusions which he makes to events are represented to be prophetic, nevertheless they are unmistakable references to what happened centuries after the days of the supposed 'Daniel.' The seventh chapter illustrates this. Three fierce beasts appear and after them a fourth, "dreadful and terrible," who destroys them, and in this beast the horn arises with "eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things." Then heaven is opened and "the Ancient of Days" is seen; "thousand thousands ministered to him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him." The invisible court of heaven and its countless hosts of divine beings are disclosed. In the midst of this tremendous scene "the judgment is set, and the books are opened." Then another

mysterious figure appears. "I saw in the night visions, and, behold, 'one like a Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven,' and came to the Ancient of Days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given to him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom . . . his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away."[1]

Here most of the typical conditions of an Apocalypse are fulfilled. It is pseudonymous, inasmuch as the assumed writer is a sage of bygone days. It is interested in Israel, but not exclusively; the kingdom of him who comes on the clouds embraces "all people, nations, and languages"; the beasts are not merely symbols; they are actually existing supramundane powers, whose actions are reflected in the history of the nations. There is a heavenly vision of the consummation of the age. Moreover, the prophecy is a sealed book. Professedly it is not intended to circulate among those of Daniel's generation: "the words are closed up and sealed until the time of the end."[2]

No other prophecy in the Old Testament, despite the attendant visions, can be called Apocalyptic in this sense. The concluding chapters of Ezekiel have a superficial resemblance to an Apocalypse; but the essential conditions are hardly fulfilled. The prophet sees no heavenly temple, but an idealised restoration of the House in which he had ministered; and in the national triumph only Israel shares, and forms a perfect community in its own land. Even the earlier visions of Divine majesty, the living creatures, the wheel within wheels, are personal rather than world-wide. Nor is there any idea that the revelation is primarily meant for posterity.

Apocalypses and the antediluvian world.

One feature, often present in Apocalypses but lacking in Daniel, who in this respect is more like the prophets of the older order, is the interest in the history of the first age of the world, the fall of angels, and the revelations made to antediluvian patriarchs. The story of the early ages of the world is regarded

[1] Dan. vii. 1-14. [2] Dan. xii. 9.

as fraught with a deep meaning revealed to the saints of old, who reserved its disclosure till the fulness of the times. Whether those who first read them seriously believed in the words of the Epistle of Jude[1] that "Enoch, seventh from Adam," actually prophesied is immaterial; but in one thing Jews and Christians agreed—they allowed the entire literature to sink into obscurity.

Extant Apocalypses are compilations.

The most marked characteristic so far as literary method is concerned is the consistent use of previous material. Every Apocalypse which we possess seems to be made up of fragments of earlier works belonging to the same type. Frequently it is possible to distinguish these sources, but critics have possibly gone rather further than the evidence warrants them in assigning dates and making statements about the opinions of the authors of the various sources, for it is certain that the writers who produced the present documents did not look on themselves merely as editors. They were writing books by the method of compilation, but they troubled themselves little in the accurate representation of their sources. What they desired was to set out their own opinions, and they were willing to treat their sources in any way which rendered them better adapted for this purpose.

The End as the Beginning.

In the accomplishment of this task they produced an almost infinite variety of combination, often involving illogical and self-contradictory statements. For though many of the visions of the Apocalyptists are worked out with fantastic minuteness, they cared really more for the principles than they did for the details of history. The End was to be as the Beginning; and their interest in "the Beginning" was entirely due to this. The End was their real preoccupation, and the most marked characteristic of their belief was the certainty that the End was close at hand. Much of the interest of the subject for the student of Christian origins is the picture which is presented of the time immediately preceding and following after the End; for the End was after all not final,—it was only the End of this world, and after it would arise the World to Come.

[1] Jude 14.

Woes followed by deliverance.

The general picture, of which the details vary in each book, is that a period of great and unprecedented suffering—the Woes—will pass into one of prosperity and happiness for the chosen people. This will be succeeded by a last effort on the part of the powers of evil, who will be finally and completely defeated. Then will come the resurrection of the dead, the great judgment, and the End, after which will begin the New Age or the World to Come. Such are the general outlines of the Apocalyptic picture; but there is considerable variation. The days of prosperity which succeed the Woes are sometimes pictured as the reign of that anointed prince or Messiah whose coming was foretold by the prophets. Sometimes the Messiah does not appear at all, and the custom of nevertheless referring in such cases to this period as Messianic, though general, is to be deprecated. Similarly the judgment is sometimes carried out by God, sometimes by his representative. Sometimes the final effort of evil seems to be omitted. In general, however, the characteristic features remain, and it is perhaps well to remember that every Apocalypse is not necessarily a complete picture of everything which its writer might have accepted.

Persian influence.

It may be legitimate to inquire whether this Apocalyptic picture is a genuine outcome of Judaism at all. In its main characteristics Persian influence is very marked. The religion of Zoroaster is based on the great strife in heaven and on earth between the powers of good and evil, ending in a spectacular triumph of righteousness. Ormuzd and his angels strive with Arihman and his angels, just as Michael does with Satan. In the end a Saviour comes, in the person of Shaosyant, and executes judgment, bringing about a new order. This is the essence of Apocalyptic revelation, heaven and hell crowded by angelic and demonic hosts, a Saviour interfering in the cause of right, the final judgment, the End, and the World to Come.[1] In reality it is in contrast with the Jewish conception of Messiah, an anointed king vindicating (for in that sense the word "to judge" is em-

[1] See below, pp. 269-277.

ployed) and establishing a kingdom in which the Law is supreme. Nevertheless, the Persian eschatology as a whole was taken over by Jewish thought, and the question naturally arose of its relationship to the prophetic doctrine of an anointed king of the house of David. It would have been possible to identify the new world with the kingdom of the anointed prince of the house of David, and in the end that identification was possibly made in some Jewish circles, but, in the main, Jewish thought followed a different line of development. The days of the anointed king, when they were not omitted altogether, were kept as the closing period of this age, which the Resurrection was to follow rather than precede. His reign was to precede the End, and he, like all other men, would die, even though an extremely long life was granted him. After his death and that of the rest of mankind would come the resurrection and the judgment, which would settle whether men should or should not pass on into a life of happiness in the new world. This is the theory presented in 4 Ezra and in the Apocalypse of Baruch. It is noticeably similar to that of Paul in 1 Corinthians xv. and to the vision of the End and of the New Creation in Revelation xix.-xxii. It was probably held at least by some Rabbis, but in Judaism interest in eschatology gradually atrophied under the intenser study of the Law, and Christianity in the end accepted a simpler form, which identified the World to Come with the Days of the Messiah, and translated it from Earth to Heaven.

Causes of decline.

The reason for the very sudden decline of Apocalyptic literature—for Ezra is not only the finest but almost the last of the series—can be explained in the main by two considerations. The type of thought which it represents could not survive the disillusionment caused by the failure of Bar Cochba and the final downfall of the Jewish state. In the second place, there seems to have been a considerable growth of what we should now call theosophy among the Jews, and the Rabbis set their faces sternly against it. At one time at least the first chapters of Genesis and of Ezekiel were forbidden to all under the age of thirty. The

Rabbis were successful in their campaign, and the Apocalyptic literature probably went down together with the theosophy for which it provided so much tempting material. It revived again in the Middle Ages in the form of the Hekeloth, much of which is preserved in the Cabbala. In this fragments of the Apocalyptic literature can still be traced, though not in such a form as to be directly identical with the recensions which still survive.

Conclusion.

The Fall of Jerusalem, A.D. 70, marked the downfall of the priestly party and the disappearance of the Sadducees. Johanan ben Zakkai and the founders of the New Judaism were in sympathy with the Pharisees, on whose teaching the Rabbinical principles were mainly based; and Sadducee and Boethusian became terms of reproach.

The common view that the Pharisees were a sect occupied in trivial matters of ritual, and making the Law intolerable by their traditions, is as erroneous as that the Sadducees were worldly men promoting scepticism in faith and laxity in conduct. In many instances the Sadducees demanded more from their followers than their rivals; and the Pharisaic traditions made the Law easier to obey. The allegation that the Sadducees not only denied the Resurrection, but also rejected all the prophets, is probably based on the legend which connected this discredited party with the Samaritans.

The fundamental difference between the Pharisees and the other sects seems to have been that, whereas Essenes, Sadducees, and the Covenanters of Damascus always looked to the past, they took count of the present and the future. In their hands, not in those of the Sadducees or Samaritans with their unchangeable law, or of the Covenanters with their ideal of an Israel in the desert, or of the Apocalyptists with their fantastic history, or of the *ʿAme ha-Ares* with their uninstructed piety, lay the future of Judaism.

Based upon Map in Jewish Encyclopædia, Vol. 7. By permission of Messrs Funk & Wagnalls. *Stanford's Geog. Estab. London.*

JERUSALEM
A.D. 70.

N

WALL

THIRD

Damascus Gate

CASTLE OF ANTONIA

SECOND WALL

MOUNTAIN OF THE HOUSE

CASTLE

Solomon's Porch

Royal Porch

BASILICA OF THE HERODS

FIRST WALL

Jaffa Gate

PALACE OF HEROD

UPPER CITY

LOWER CITY

TOMBS OF THE KINGS

TOMBS OF DAVID

Based upon Map in Newall's Jerusalem and Its Environs. By permission of Messrs. Hall & Virtue.

BEZETHA
SITE OF TEMPLE 2440
2529
2552
2520
2478
2373
Valley of Hinnom
Jehoshaphat Valley
Valley of the Kedron

IV

THE DISPERSION

By The Editors

The Dispersion in the O.T.

The name in the Bible for the scattered Jewish communities was "The Captivity," the late Greek equivalent being διασπορά,[1] Dispersion; but the word "sojourner" always applied with peculiar force to the nation of Israel. The patriarchs were wanderers, and even in their most prosperous days their descendants occupied only portions of Palestine by a precarious tenure. The kingdom, from the accession of Saul to the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C., can scarcely have lasted much more than three hundred and fifty years. Even during that period the Israelite nation never possessed a great part of the country claimed as its inheritance, and Galilee was called "the circuit" (*Galîl*) of the Gentiles.[2] After 722 B.C., those who claimed to be genuine sons of Jacob occupied only the highlands of Judah and Benjamin, a few villages around

[1] See note by J. H. Ropes in the *International Critical Commentary on the Epistle of James*, p. 120 ff. The word διασπορά is comparatively rare in the LXX. and is never used to translate גולה, though in later Hebrew, as the title ראש גולתא of the Prince of the exiles in Babylon testifies, it was the equivalent of διασπορά. As Dr. Ropes remarks, "It is not a regular representative of any Hebrew word." In the LXX. it has generally the sense of violent dispersion, as of a discomfited army.

[2] Isaiah ix. 1. See also 1 Kings ix. 11. Galilee means the "circuit," and is always used with the article. In 2 Kings xv. 29, Galilee is described as "all the land of Naphtali." In the story of the birth of Jacob's sons Naphtali is said, like Gad, Asher, and Dan, to be the son not of a wife, but of a concubine, *i.e.* of mixed, not of pure race. Gen. xxx. 8.

Jerusalem. From a very early time the outskirts of the Israelite territory had been subject to frequent raids, and the appearance (a) Assyria. of the Assyrian armies was marked, not by one, but by many captivities. Thus in the days of Pekah Tiglath-pileser carried away a large number of captives from northern Palestine, Galilee, and Gilead.[1] When Sargon took Samaria the inhabitants of the district were transplanted, some as far as Media.[2] His son Sennacherib boasts that he took captive no less than two hundred thousand Judeans.[3] So far as we are able to judge these exiles did not retain their customs nor their religion, but amalgamated with the surrounding nations. Still there is no reason why the later captives from Judah should not have found the ground of a religious settlement prepared for them by their countrymen.[4] In the sixth century B.C. the deportations were carried on, in (b) Babylon. perhaps a more systematic fashion, by the Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar. At any rate, the ties with the old country were not completely broken, and the Jewish settlements retained their distinctive features.[5] From the later books of the Old Testament, however, it is plain that the Temple at Jerusalem, even when it lay in ruins, attracted pilgrims and was regarded as a peculiarly sacred spot.[6] The policy of the great king was not to make his deportations on a large scale, but to select the best and richest for removal, leaving the common people behind to cultivate the land.[7] From the days of the Babylonian captivity the strength of Judaism was in the East rather than in Judaea.

(c) Egypt. But if the Jews were being deported eastward there was a

[1] 2 Kings xv. 29. [2] 2 Kings xvii. 6.

[3] Taylor Cylinder, see King, *First Steps in Assyrian*, p. 61; and Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 187.

[4] Josephus, *Antiq.* xi. 5. 2, *αἱ δὲ δέκα φυλαὶ πέραν εἰσὶν Εὐφράτου ἕως δεῦρο, μυριάδες ἄπειροι καὶ ἀριθμῷ γνωσθῆναι μὴ δυνάμεναι.* Cf. also Tobit i. 14, where it is implied that the sons of tribes in captivity remained true to their religion. Cf. E. Schürer, *G.J.V.* vol. iii. p. 8.

[5] 2 Kings xxiv. 14; Jer. lii. 24-25. For the maintenance of a connection between the exiles and the Jews see Jer. xxiv., Ez. viii. 16, and *passim*, Zech. vi.

[6] Jer. xli. 5. [7] Jer. xxxix. 10, lii. 16; 2 Kings xxv. 11.

voluntary migration southward. Since the days of Isaiah, at any rate, Egypt had had an attraction for Israelites. When Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Babylonians the Jewish exiles formed a colony at Tahpanes (Daphne).[1] Under the Persian rule in Egypt they evidently enjoyed the protection of the conquerors, and established themselves as far south as the first cataract at Yeb (Elephantine). A flood of light has been shed on this Jewish settlement by the discovery of the Mond-Cecil papyri, a series of family deeds, one dated possibly as early as 494 B.C.[2] The community had for years enjoyed the right of having its own temple with its altar and sacrifices, and was under protection of the Persian viceroy. It was evidently composed of prosperous traders; and though it incurred the enmity of the Egyptian priesthood, it was on friendly terms with the people. These Egyptian Jews maintained a connection with the temple at Jerusalem and the High Priest.

(*d*) Persia.

The Old Testament supplies evidence that the Jews were numerous and influential in the Persian Empire, whose founder, Cyrus, was regarded as their special protector, and his son, Cambyses, sanctioned their worship in Egypt when he suppressed the native religion.[3] Nehemiah received his appointment as Governor of Judaea at Susa (Shushan) in Persia,[4] and the scene of the Book of Esther is laid in the same place.[5] Thus by the commencement of the fourth century before Christ there were Jewish communities in Upper Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Media.

Alexander the Great.

With the appearance of Alexander the Great in Syria, Judaism entered upon a new phase. Hitherto it had belonged to the

[1] Jer. xliii. 7. The prophet addresses the Jews at Migdol, Tahpanes, Noph, and in the country of Pathros, Jer. xliv. 1.

[2] A. van Hoonacker, *Une Communauté judéo-araméenne*, etc. (Schweich Lectures, 1914). The papyri are family deeds purchased by Mr. Robert Mond and Lady William Cecil in 1904, and published at Mr. Mond's expense by A. H. Sayce and A. E. Cowley, entitled *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan*, 1906. In 1907 Prof. Sachau edited *Drei aramäische Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine*. Berlin.

[3] Sachau, *op. cit.* i. 13-14. [4] Neh. i. 1. [5] Esther i. 5.

East, now it was to assimilate itself to the West also. When Hebrew ceased to be in common use, the Jews adopted Aramaic, a kindred language originally spoken by the tribes to the east of Palestine, the dialects of which were current in the fifth century B.C. from the Nile to the Tigris; but henceforward Greek was to be also a vehicle of Jewish thought. For the visit of Alexander to Jerusalem Josephus is our sole authority,[1] and his narrative is not easy to reconcile either with that in the canonical book of Nehemiah, nor with the Mond papyri; since the events of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. are inextricably confused.

Narrative of Josephus.

According to Josephus, after the capture of Tyre, Alexander was visited by Sanballat, a Cuthaean, who had been sent by Darius Codomannus as governor of Samaria. Manasseh, the brother of Jaddua, the High Priest, contrary to the law had espoused Nicaso, Sanballat's daughter; and Sanballat had promised him a more valuable priesthood than that of the Temple, together with the government of the fertile territory of Samaria. Taking advantage of a sedition in Jerusalem and the fact that Jaddua had provoked Alexander by his obstinate loyalty to Darius, to whom he had sworn allegiance, Sanballat obtained permission to erect a Temple on Mount Gerizim and to instal Manasseh and his followers, who had deserted Jaddua. Alexander in the meantime marched to Jerusalem to punish the High Priest.[2] But when the army reached Sapha (Mizpah, now Nebi-Samwil) the High Priest came forth at the head of the people in his sacred garments. To the surprise of all, Alexander fell down before Jaddua in adoration, and when Parmenio, his general, asked the reason, he declared that he did not adore the priest but the God of the Jews; for he had had a vision of a man like Jaddua when he was in Macedonia who promised that God would conduct his army and give him dominion over the Persians.[3] Accordingly he granted all the requests preferred

[1] Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. 8. 1-7.

[2] *Antiq.* xi. 8. 5.

[3] *Antiq.* xi. 8. 5, *καὶ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν διασκεπτομένῳ μοι πῶς ἂν κρατήσαιμι τῆς Ἀσίας, παρεκελεύετο μὴ μέλλειν ἀλλὰ θαρσοῦντα διαβαίνειν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἡγήσεσθαί μοι τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τὴν Περσῶν παραδώσειν ἀρχήν.*

to him by the High Priest, allowed the Jews the free exercise of their religion in Judaea and also in Babylon and Media, exempted them from taxation every seventh year, and offered to those who would enlist in his army the right to adhere to their ancestral customs. Alexander, says Josephus, was the more ready to favour the Jews because he had been shown the Book of Daniel and understood that his conquest of Persia had been foretold. The Samaritans laid claim to the same privileges, declaring that they too were Israelites, and tracing their pedigree to Joseph. They admitted that they were not Jews: and Alexander neither granted nor refused their request.[1] He commanded Sanballat's troops to follow him to Egypt, and granted them lands in the Thebaid. The Temple on Gerizim remained, and became the resort not only of the Samaritans, but of all discontented Jews.[2] In 331 B.C. Alexander went down to Egypt, and in the winter laid the foundation of Alexandria, in which he settled a number of Jews.

Discrepancy with O.T.

There is, as has been indicated, a startling anachronism between Josephus and the canonical book of Nehemiah, the scene of which is Jerusalem in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, 445 B.C. According to this, Sanballat was the principal adversary of Nehemiah. He was a Horonite, whose daughter was married to a grandson of the High Priest Eliashib.[3] Similarly in the Mond papyri the Jews in Egypt complain to the sons of Sanballat of the destruction of their Temple at Yeb in the fourteenth year of Darius Nothus, 411 B.C., thus confirming the statement in Nehemiah that Sanballat lived a century before Alexander the Great. Nevertheless, Josephus is probably right when he hints that Alexander was desirous of conciliating both the Jews and the Samaritans, and it is noteworthy that he admits that the latter were reinforced by Jewish schismatics. It has been pointed out that the constant intercourse between the Jews of Jerusalem and their brethren in the East must have made them invaluable as guides to an army, like that of Alexander, destitute of maps

[1] *Antiq.* xi. 8. 6. [2] *Antiq.* xi. 8. 7. [3] Neh. xiii. 28.

and topographical knowledge:[1] and they also possessed many qualities useful to settlers in a new commercial capital like Alexandria. The Hellenisation of Judaism may therefore well be traced to the days of Alexander the Great.

The Dispersion in the East.

The early dispersion was undoubtedly eastward, and in the enumeration of those who were in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost the first mentioned in Acts are Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia,[2] all inhabitants of lands then outside the limits of the Roman Empire. Of this dispersion we learn nothing further from Acts; but its importance to a student of Christian origins is not inconsiderable, as it was through the Jewish settlements that Christianity spread eastward as well as westward. The diffusion of Christianity eastward is, however, a subject on which we have no precise information. Acts, our sole contemporary authority, is silent, and tells of no missionary work outside Palestine, save that undertaken by Paul and Barnabas. Nevertheless, the early and widespread Christian legend that the Twelve, some years after the Ascension, divided the known world among themselves into spheres of missionary labours shows the belief that from the first Christians travelled far and wide preaching the Gospel; and for such labours an extensive Jewish dispersion was a valuable if not indispensable assistance. But though this legend may be as old as the second century,[3] the scenes of the labours of the Apostles are as unknown to Eusebius as they are to us. For their journeys eastward he has nothing on which to rely, except the Abgar legend, which makes Thomas send Thaddeus[4] (Addai) to Edessa in fulfilment of the promise of the Saviour. In enumerating the parts of the world in which the apostles preached Christ, he has to

[1] Cf. Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 85: "Hence to an invader of Asia who had no maps, no full information as to the routes and resources for feeding an army, no organised system of interpreters, these Jews were the natural intelligence department."

[2] Acts ii. 9.

[3] Lipsius in *Dict. Christian Biography*, art. "Apocryphal Acts."

[4] *H.E.* ii. 1.

rely solely on the New Testament and a statement in Origen's *Commentary on Genesis* which alludes to Thomas having preached in Parthia.

(a) In the Parthian Empire.

The Parthian Empire, which rose during the decay of the Seleucids, was one of the most warlike, if the least civilised of the great monarchies of the Ancient East. But if the remains of its buildings and sculpture are rude and barbarous compared to what the Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, and Greeks have left in this part of the world, the Parthians had military ability enough to hold the Romans at bay in the days of the later republic and earlier Empire; and except under Marcus Aurelius, when Avidius Cassius invaded the country, no expedition against them proved in the end successful. Extending from the Euphrates almost to the frontiers of Hindostan, the Parthian dominions divided the civilised world known to classical antiquity with the Roman. Even Palestine was not safe from the Parthian armies, and Josephus has repeatedly indicated their importance in Jewish politics. The crushing defeat of Crassus in 54 B.C. is only alluded to in passing;[1] but a few years later the country was overrun by the Parthians, who took Jerusalem and placed Antigonus, the son of Hyrcanus's brother Aristobulus, on the throne.[2] Josephus in the later books of the *Antiquities* shows further interest in the affairs of Parthia. He mentions that about 36 B.C. the command of Tiberius Vitellius, the imperial governor of Syria, made a treaty with Artabanus III., King of Parthia, who had been deposed but had recovered his kingdom. On this occasion Herod Antipas played a prominent part. Vitellius and Artabanus met in the middle of a bridge made across the Euphrates and were entertained magnificently by Antipas. Among the presents of the Parthians to the Romans was a Jewish giant named Eleazar who was seven cubits high. Antipas on this occasion incurred the enmity of Vitellius by sending the news of the completion of the treaty to Tiberius more speedily,[3]

[1] *Antiq.* xiv. 7. 3. [2] *Antiq.* xiv. 13.
[3] *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 4-5.

showing that the tetrarch was deeply involved in Parthian politics, and was in closer touch with the Emperor than even the governor of an imperial province like Syria.

Asinaeus and Anilaeus.

A light is shed on the number, the power, and the turbulence of the Jews in Parthia by the story of the two brothers Asinaeus and Anilaeus, related by Josephus.[1] They were natives of the city of Nahardea near Nisibis and were apprenticed to a cloth weaver. As, however, he presumed to chastise them, they left his house, taking with them weapons, and established themselves in a place between two rivers which, in addition to its strength, was well suited for cattle. There they built a fortress and exacted tribute from the neighbourhood, and soon became so sufficiently formidable as even to excite the apprehension of King Artabanus. An army was equipped by the governor of Babylonia; and it was decided to attack their stronghold on the Sabbath day, when they, as Jews, might be expected to be inactive. But Asinaeus, disregarding the scruples of some of his followers, boldly led forth his troops and gained a complete victory over the royal army. Artabanus, seeing that it was necessary to conciliate the two brothers, sent for them under safe-conduct, which he refused to violate, though urged to do so by his generals. On his return from the royal presence Asinaeus became more powerful than ever, and for fifteen years he and Anilaeus were the most honoured satraps in Mesopotamia.

At the end of this period Anilaeus married a Parthian lady, whose husband he had previously killed in battle. Like Rachel, also a native of Mesopotamia,[2] she took away with her her ancestral images, and, to the great scandal of the Jewish community, persisted in worshipping them. Asinaeus was at last induced to remonstrate, whereupon the lady, fearing his influence with her husband, poisoned him, and Anilaeus reigned

[1] *Antiq.* xviii. 9. 1-9.

[2] Gen. xxxi. 30-35. Rawlinson, *Sixth Great Monarchy*, p. 400, has some interesting remarks on the use of teraphim or household images by the Parthians, who were nominally Zoroastrians, and therefore, like the Jews, averse to image worship.

alone. Even then his good fortune did not desert him. Supported by his countrymen he was able to defeat Mithradates, the son-in-law of King Artabanus; and a war ensued between the Jews and Babylonians. In the end Anilaeus was betrayed and killed whilst overcome by drink. After his death the Jews took refuge in Seleucia in Mesopotamia, which was inhabited by a mixed population of Greeks and Syrians. Joining the latter in sedition, the Jews were betrayed by their allies: fifty thousand were slain, and many fled to the adjacent royal city of Ctesiphon. This happened about A.D. 41 when the unanimity which Greeks, Syrians, and Babylonians showed in their animosity forced the Jews to entrench themselves in Nahardea and Nisibis.[1] This narrative reveals something of the character of the Jewish inhabitants in the Parthian Empire, their aptitude for war, their tendency to brigandage, their devotion to their ancestral customs, and their unpopularity with the people among whom they lived.

(*b*) Helena and Izates of Adiabene.

That the Jews extended their influence by making proselytes is shown in the case of Izates, King of Adiabene, and his mother, Helena.[2] The conversion of this powerful and successful monarch was begun by a Jewish merchant named Ananias, who, however, refused to advise that Izates should incur the risk of offending his subjects by being circumcised. A more earnest Jew, however, named Eleazar, persuaded the king to submit to the rite. Despite the hostility of his brothers, some of whom he sent as hostages to Claudius to Rome and others to Parthia, he maintained himself on the throne of what in modern parlance would be called a "buffer" kingdom between the rival empires. After encountering many perils and having been the means of restoring Artabanus to his throne, Izates died, and his body and that of his mother, Helena, were sent by Monobazus, his successor, for interment at Jerusalem.

[1] *Antiq.* xviii. 9. 9.

[2] *Antiq.* xx. 2. 1-5, 3. 1-4, 4. 1-3.

(c) Jews in Parthia, Media, and Elam.

So important was the dispersion among the Parthians in the eyes of Josephus that his first literary effort was a history of the Jewish war, written especially for the Jews of the East.[1] Of Jews in Parthia proper, or the district supposed to have been the home of the Parthians, we have a record preserved in the Chronicle of Eusebius, George Syncellus, and Orosius, that Artaxerxes Ochus about 350 B.C. transported some rebellious Jews from Egypt to Hyrcania by the Caspian Sea, where there were still Jews in the fifth century A.D.[2] In Media there was a Jewish community at a place called Gazaca, so ignorant that they had never heard of the *Halaka* (rules for observing the law); and when Akiba told them the stories of the Flood and of Job, they were quite new to them.[3] In Elam or Persia there had, as has been shown, long been Jews in Susa or Shushan, but there is no evidence of their presence elsewhere. There remains in the catalogue of Acts ii. only Mesopotamia, which was undoubtedly one of the greatest Jewish centres in the world.[4] Two cities, Pumbeditha and Nahardea, were afterward famous in the Talmud as academies of rabbinical learning. The only other Eastern country mentioned in Acts is Arabia,[5] which according to Josephus was immediately adjacent to Palestine.[6] From Galatians i. 17, where Paul says he went to Arabia and returned (ὑπέστρεψα) to Damascus, it might be inferred that Damascus

(d) Mesopotamia.

(e) Arabia.

[1] *Proem. ad B.J.* The Prince of the Captivity who was the head of the Jews in Mesopotamia, and claimed to represent the family of David, is said to have been recognised by the Parthians. See *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, art. "Exiliarch."

[2] Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire romain*, vol. i. p. 203; Orosius 3. 7. 6.

[3] Juster, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 203, note 2. Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, pp. 375, 392.

[4] Juster, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 201, gives a list of towns east of the Euphrates in which there is evidence for the presence of Jews. The testimony is, however, in many cases so late that our knowledge of the actual condition of the Dispersion in the first century A.D. besides what we find in Josephus and Acts is very scanty. He enumerates twenty-six towns or countries. Of these eleven are first mentioned by Christian writers after the middle of the fourth century, and twelve occur in the Talmud as cited by Neubauer, the earliest part of which, the Mishna, was not written before the second or third centuries A.D. For Jews in Edessa in the first century see Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 16.

[5] Acts ii. 11.

[6] *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1.

was outside its borders.[1] In the peninsula of Arabia there were undoubtedly Jewish settlements; but only four towns are mentioned as such, and the evidence for some of these is actually as late as the Mohammedan Era.[2]

In Palestine the Jews were more truly a Dispersion than inhabitants of their own land. In the days of the Maccabees, for example, Galilee had so few Jews that they could be rounded up and settled around Jerusalem by Judas.[3] Bashan and Gilead, afterward the Decapolis and Perea, were covered with cities with Greek or Macedonian names, as was also the coast.[4] The great herd of swine on the shores of the lake of Galilee may be cited as evidence of a large Hellenic or non-Jewish population.[5] At Caesarea the Jewish inhabitants provoked the Greek majority by their claims to control the city, and the Jewish war began by an insult to their synagogue. Sebaste was practically a heathen city, and joined with Caesarea in celebrating the death of Agrippa with indecent manifestations of delight.[6] Tiberias in Galilee was largely Gentile, as it was considered by Jews to be unclean, being built over an ancient burying-place.[7] When Jesus sent his disciples to visit the cities and villages of Galilee he warned them, "Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into a city of the Samaritans enter ye not. This is a conclusive proof that in the time of Christ it was necessary for an Israelite travelling in Palestine to discriminate between one of his own towns and those of strangers.[8]

Dispersion in Palestine.

Syria, according to both Josephus[9] and Philo,[10] was a great centre of the Dispersion. It may be meant by "Judaea" in Acts ii., for which it is substituted by Jerome, whereas Tertullian

In Syria.

[1] For the meaning of "Arabia" from Herodotus onwards see Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, vol. i. p. 117. Justin, *Trypho*, 78, says Damascus did belong to Arabia, but had been assigned in his day to Syrophoenicia.

[2] Juster, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 203, note 4.

[3] 1 Macc. v. 23.

[4] Cf. such names as Dium, Pella, Anthedon, etc. etc.

[5] Mark v. 1 ff.; Matt. viii. 28 ff.; Luke viii. 26.

[6] *Antiq.* xix. 9. 1.; *B.J.* ii. 14. 4.

[7] Matt. x. 5; cf. Judg. xix. 12.

[8] *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 3.

[9] *B.J.* vii. 3. 3.

[10] *Legat.* § 32 (Mangey, ii. 582).

has Armenia.[1] Syria included the Roman province and Palestine, Commagene, Emesa, Abilene, and the kingdom of Chalcis. Forty-one cities have been enumerated in this district as having Jewish inhabitants, more than half being in Palestine. These extend from Samosata in the north to Raphia in the south. The towns outside the Holy Land, of which it can be said that there are traces of Jewish settlements anterior to A.D. 100, are Antioch, Seleucia, Apamaea, Arados, the kingdom of Chalcis, the tetrarchy of Abilene ruled over by the Herods, and Damascus.[2]

(*a*) Antioch. Antioch, which played so important a part in the early history and development of Christianity, evidently contained many Jews, who must have constantly been there at any rate since Palestine passed under the Syrian monarchy in 198 B.C. Josephus says that Seleucus Nicator gave the Jews the privilege of citizenship, and all their rights were restored after the death of their enemy, Antiochus Epiphanes. When Titus visited the city in A.D. 70 the Jews were both numerous and unpopular.[3] Four of the names of the five given in Acts xiii. 1 as inaugurating the mission to the Gentiles, Barnabas, Simeon, Manahem, the foster-brother of Herod the tetrarch, and Saul, are markedly Jewish. The frequent warnings of Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, early in the second century, against Judaising, indicate that he may have presided over a Christian community surrounded by Jews,[4] and John Chrysostom three centuries later preached frequently at Antioch against them.[5]

[1] Is it possible that Judaea in Acts ii. means that Syria is the land of Israel in its fullest extent from the river of Egypt to Hamath ? In this case it would come next to Mesopotamia working eastward. In Luke iv. 44, *εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς τῆς Ἰουδαίας* must mean the synagogues of northern Palestine, *i.e.* Galilee, the Decapolis, and places visited by our Lord, and not the territory of Judaea proper. See Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 5.

[2] Juster, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 194.

[3] Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 3. 1; *B.J.* vii. 3. 3, vii. 5. 2.

[4] Ignatius, *Magnesians*, c. 10.

[5] See Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire romain*, vol. i. pp. 62, 195. He points out that H. Winckler (" Die Golah in Daphne," *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 2te Reihe 3. 408-424, 1901) and also A. Marx try to prove that the settlement of Jews at Antioch was very early.

(*b*) Damascus.

Damascus was also important as a Jewish centre, though the evidence for the presence of a Dispersion rests chiefly on the New Testament and Josephus.[1] According to the latter the Jews must have been very numerous, as 10,000, or even 18,000, were massacred in the Jewish war.[2] It is generally assumed by commentators that Damascus was under the jurisdiction of Aretas, but this may be due to a misunderstanding of Paul's words in 2 Cor. xi. 32. Damascus was one of the cities of the Decapolis; at least according to Pliny the Elder, who died in A.D. 79. These cities were a confederation of Greek towns bound together by common sympathy and interest. Probably it was formed when Pompey liberated the Hellenic cities from the Jewish domination into which they had been brought by Alexander Jannaeus. Despite its large Jewish colony, Damascus was essentially Greek in the days of the Acts, and the coins when the city was autonomous all bear the names of Greek deities, especially Zeus.[3] Under Augustus and Tiberius there were imperial coins of the city, but there is a gap after them till the time of Nero. It has been consequently inferred from 2 Cor. xi. 32 that, during the principates of Caligula and Claudius, the government of Damascus passed into the hands of Aretas. But, in view of the undoubted fact that Damascus was essentially an Hellenic city and therefore since Pompey's time most unlikely to be placed under a Semitic ruler, it is possible that ὁ ἐθνάρχης[4] Ἀρέτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐφρούρει τὴν πόλιν τῶν Δαμασκηνῶν means that Aretas's officer was watching *outside* and not inside the walls to prevent Paul from escaping.[5]

Asia Minor.

The provinces of Asia Minor enumerated in Acts ii. are

[1] For the Covenanters of Damascus see pp. 97 ff.

[2] *B.J.* ii. 20. 2; vii. 8. 7.

[3] Schürer, *G.J.V.* ii. pp. 47 and 150 ff.

[4] For the meaning of the word *ethnarch* see Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 322.

[5] See the note in McGiffert's *Apostolic Age*, p. 164. He does not offer this suggestion, though he gives the gist of the difficulty as to the position of Aretas, for whose authority in Damascus there is no evidence besides 2 Corinthians save the negative one of the coins.

Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, and Bithynia. In Acts vi. we find a synagogue of Cilician Jews; and 1 Peter is addressed to Galatia and Bithynia in addition to the provinces above mentioned. Phrygia, which occurs in Acts ii., was not a province, but a district, part in Asia and part in Galatia. Of these seven provinces, into which, with dependent kingdoms, the peninsula was divided, no towns of Cappadocia, Pontus, or Bithynia are named in the New Testament, but in all the other cities which are mentioned Jewish communities are assumed to exist. Nothing is said of Paul's work in Perga of Pamphylia, where he landed, but at Pisidian Antioch he and Barnabas found a synagogue,[1] where Paul made his address. It is the same with Iconium in the south of the Roman province of Galatia.[2] Ephesus in Asia was evidently an important Jewish centre. The Jews of Asia at Jerusalem accused Paul of bringing Greeks within the precincts of the Temple.[3] But there is no necessity to labour to prove the wide diffusion of the Jewish community in this part of the Roman Empire.[4]

Macedonia, Greece, Cyprus.

But for Acts, scarcely anything would be known as to the Jews of Macedonia and Greece; for excepting a statement in Philo[5] there is no other early evidence of their presence in the Balkan peninsula. Yet from Acts we learn that not only were there Jewish colonies in all the towns mentioned as visited by Paul, but that at great mercantile centres like Thessalonica and Corinth Jewish mobs were formidable disturbers of the peace.[6] Even at Athens, the centre of Hellenic culture, a city frequented by scholars, Paul could find a synagogue wherein to dispute with the Jews.[7] Cyprus, the ancient Kittim or Chittim, was known

[1] Acts xiii. 14. [2] Acts xiv. 1. [3] Acts xxi. 27 f.

[4] Juster, *Les Juifs*, vol. i. 188-194, gives no less than seventy-one names of cities in Asia Minor in which the presence of Jews of the Diaspora has been traced.

[5] *Legatio* 36. Agrippa in his letter to Caligula enumerates the Jewish colonies. In Europe the Jews were in Thessaly, Boeotia, Macedonia, Aetolia, Athens, Argos, Corinth, and in the most fertile part of the Peloponnesus. They were also in the islands of Euboea, Cyprus, and Crete.

[6] Acts xvii. 5 f., xviii. 12 f. [7] Acts xvii. 17.

to the ancient Hebrews as an isle in the Great Sea, and at Salamis, on its eastern extremity, there was evidently a Jewish population, as the word synagogue occurs not in the singular but in the plural.[1] Paphos, on the western side, was the seat of the government, where Paul and his companions met Sergius Paulus and his soothsayer the Jew Elymas. The revolt of the Jews of Cyprus was one of the most formidable of their uprisings in the days of Trajan and Hadrian.[2]

Cyrene was largely inhabited by Jews, said to have been settled by Ptolemy Lagus.[3] From the days of Sulla they showed themselves exceedingly turbulent, and Lucullus, when he visited the country, had to allay their disorders.[4] Strabo, when he testifies to the widespread dispersion of the nation, says that in the city of Cyrene the Jews formed the fourth division of the population which consisted of citizens, husbandmen, strangers (*μέτοικοι*), and Jews.[5] Jewish settlements are frequently alluded to in the New Testament, yet no missionary is said to have visited the country, though the first preachers to the Gentiles at Antioch were men of Cyprus and Cyrene.[6] CYRENE.

In Egypt there is abundant evidence of Jewish settlements in papyri, inscriptions, etc., and Philo, in his book against Flaccus, estimates that his countrymen numbered a million dwelling from the descent to Libya to the border of Ethiopia.[7] EGYPT.

The Jewish community in Alexandria was one of the most numerous, wealthy, and privileged in the world. Founded by Alexander the Great as the mart to connect the East with the ALEXANDRIA.

[1] Acts xiii. 5.

[2] Juster, *op. cit.* p. 189; Dio Cassius lxviii. 32.

[3] Joseph. *Contra Apion.* ii. 4.

[4] Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 7. 2 (quotes Strabo), Plutarch *Lucullus.*

[5] Joseph. i. c. Strabo the geographer (A.D. 12) is an authority for the dispersion. "It is not easy," he says, "to find a place on earth which is not occupied by Jews."

[6] Matt. xxvii. 32; Mk. xv. 21; Luke xxiii. 26 (Simon of Cyrene); Acts ii. 10; Acts vi. 9; Acts xi. 20; Acts xiii. 1.

[7] *In Flaccum,* 6, *οὐκ ἀποδέουσι μυριάδων ἑκατὸν οἱ τὴν* Ἀλεξάνδρειαν *καὶ τὴν χώραν* Ἰουδαῖοι *κατοικοῦντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Λιβύην καταβαθμοῦ μέχρι τῶν ὁρίων Αἰθιοπίας.*

West, it passed at his death into the hands of his general, Ptolemy Lagus, whose house proved almost invariably friendly to the Jews. Renouncing all ambitious schemes of world domination, the Ptolemies devoted their energies to the administration of the country which had fallen to their lot.[1] Under them Egypt was governed as far as possible in accordance with its ancient customs, and enjoyed a period of remarkable prosperity. The dynasty aimed, not without success, at making Alexandria not only a prosperous mercantile community but the intellectual and even the religious capital of the Hellenic world. In the Museum we have a prototype of the modern collegiate foundation, with its chapel, library halls, and extensive courts,—even with its clerical president. The naturalist could study the animals of Africa in the Zoological Gardens. The great Temple of Serapis was dedicated to a God neither local nor national, but common to humanity, and the imposing ritual of the Isis worship spread from Alexandria throughout the world. In this cosmopolitan home of the culture of Hellenism the Jew found himself not a despised sojourner but an honoured citizen. His status was almost that of the Macedonian colonist, and he furnished the armies of the Ptolemies with useful troops.[2] His special quarter was on the shore east of the island of Pharos, which was perhaps the more agreeable because it was "harbourless," that is, remote from the noise and bustle of the trading district.[3] But in most parts of the city Jews were to be found, and their synagogues were in different places. The most magnificent *diuplustin* is described in a *boraitha* in the Talmud.[4] It could contain twice the number of men who came out of Egypt at the Exodus. There were seventy-one golden seats, also seats of

[1] J. P. Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 78. The great historic claim to honour of the first Ptolemy "was that he saw the need of abstaining from the imperial tradition of Alexander the Great and trying to be a benefactor (εὐεργέτης) to his subjects." Cf. Biggs, *Christian Platonists of Alexandria*.

[2] Joseph. *Contra Apionem*, ii. 4.

[3] Joseph. *Contra Apionem*, ii. 4; called the *Delta*, *B.J.* ii. 18. 8.

[4] Talmud, *Sukkah* v.

silver. Each trade sat apart—when a stranger came he sat with his trade and found employment. The voice of the reader could not be heard in so vast an assembly, so when the time came to say the "Amen" the attendants had to signal to the congregation by waving flags. Nowhere did the religion of the Jews excite more interest, if we may accept the story of the translation of the Law in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus under royal patronage.[1] Nowhere were the Jews safer from persecution than at Alexandria under the Ptolemies. Nowhere, perhaps in consequence, did Jews assimilate more readily the culture and philosophy of the Greeks. The legend says that its church was founded by Mark, but there are only two mentions of Alexandrian Judaism in the New Testament.

ALEXANDRIAN LITERATURE.

The real interest of Judaism in Alexandria, however, centres neither in its history nor its extent, but in the type of literature it produced. Here is found the earliest attempt to use the Greek language to express Hebrew thought. As the Alexandrian grammarians were the interpreters of the classics of Greece to the world, so the Alexandrian Jews expounded their own literature. The translation known as the Septuagint was one of the momentous events in history. In the second century B.C. Jesus, the son of Sirach, says he came into Egypt and made a translation of a book of wisdom, written in Palestine by his grandfather, known to us as Ecclesiasticus. The so-called Wisdom of Solomon is supposed to have been written in Alexandria, and gives us a picture of the Jewish community in that city. The wicked are portrayed as ridiculing the ascetic life of the righteous, and preferring the pleasure of the moment to the burden of the Law. They utterly deny the future life. "The body," say they, "shall be turned into ashes, and our spirit shall vanish as soft air."[2] Their philosophy does not allow them to tolerate the righteous, whose very presence is

(*a*) The LXX.

(*b*) Ecclesiasticus.

(*c*) The Wisdom of Solomon.

[1] Described in the Letter of Aristeas, supposed to be a courtier of Ptolemy Philadelphus (287–247 B.C.), to his brother Philocrates. It is undoubtedly of later date.

[2] Wisdom ii. 3.

a reproach to them: and they persecute them bitterly, even to the death. The author finds consolation in the thought that the righteous do not die; "though they are punished in the sight of men," they have a hope "full of immortality." [1] The joy of the righteous is in the spirit of wisdom which, "entering into holy souls, makes them friends of God and prophets." [2]

(*d*) Philo.

This religious tone, with tendencies towards asceticism, philosophy, and mysticism, seems to distinguish the Alexandrian from the Palestinian Jew; but it is seen in its fulness in one extraordinary man, who but for Josephus and the Christian fathers might have passed into oblivion. Except for one incident in his life when he acted as the champion of his countrymen in Alexandria during the persecution in the days of Caligula, we have no information concerning Philo, the most remarkable of the Jews of the Dispersion in the first century, who combined philosophy with the strict and loyal observance of the Law of Moses. To the student of early Christianity, Philo is of supreme interest as a Jewish teacher who strove to construct a bridge to unite Hellenic culture to the religion of his ancestors. Though in no sense Christian, Philo is the parent of much Christian terminology and even theology; and his writings indicate how the attempt was made to appropriate the wisdom of Greece and adapt it to the monotheism and ethics of Judaism. So far he is like Paul; but as a Jew his whole attitude is orthodox, and unexceptional. Though his Bible is the Septuagint and his knowledge of Hebrew seems to have been imperfect, he was acquainted with the methods of interpretation common in the Rabbinic teachers, and accepted to the full the consequences of a belief in the verbal interpretation of the Law. He regards Moses as the inspired teacher of all philosophy and the Pentateuch as the sum of wisdom. As to the obligation to keep the Law in its integrity, he has no doubt. Thus far Philo is an uncompromising Jew. On the other hand, he does not regard the Law as given to a single nation, but as

[1] Wisdom iii. 1. [2] Wisdom vii. 27.

containing a revelation to the world. The God revealed in it is conceived philosophically as transcendent, but mediated to the world by the Logos, or active divine intelligence, the creative word and revealer of God, and also by the λόγοι, or partial manifestations of Divine reason.

Philo's theological ideas do not completely make a coherent system, and all his philosophy is influenced by ethical considerations. Here he is thoroughly in accord with his Christian successors,—for he was already an old man in A.D. 40,—who were enthusiastic in promoting the morality of the inspired Old Testament. The great difference between him and them was that Philo sought to make men recognise that the Law contained all true wisdom and was therefore applicable to the whole world; whilst the Christian teachers gradually reached the position that Israel received the universal religion, not through the Law, but through the Messiah foretold by the prophets, whom they recognised in Jesus. Later generations, however, recognised an affinity between the Logos of Philo and the Logos incarnate in Jesus, and welcomed this intensely Jewish Alexandrian as a forerunner, if not actual adherent, of the Christian faith.[1]

Judging by the philosophy of Philo, Alexandria would not be the place where the Christian message as originally presented would be acceptable. Messianism, however conceived, would not appeal to those who delighted in allegorical interpretation and philosophic treatment of scripture; and possibly it was not

[1] Philo's importance as an intermediary between Hellenistic Judaism, and consequently Christianity, and the philosophy of his age can hardly be overestimated. Influenced perhaps by Posidonius he brought forward those principles of Pythagoreanism, Platonism, and Stoicism which the fathers of the Church afterwards assimilated. There are bibliographies of the Philonic literature in Schürer and Brehier, *Idées de Philon d'Alexandrie*. The best editions of the text are Mangey's, London, 1742, Holtsem, 1893–1901, and Cohn and Wendland (in course of publication), though separate treatises have been edited by F. C. Conybeare (*On the Contemplative Life*) and by Cumont (*De aeternitate mundi*). Drummond, *Philo Judaeus*, and C. Bigg, *Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, are the best English authorities for reference. Philo has been translated in the Bohn series, 1854–55.

till Christian piety began to see in Jesus the divine, pre-existent Logos that the new religion found a home there.

Jews in Rome.

(a) Embassies of the Maccabees.

A chapter in 1 Maccabees relates the embassy sent by Judas to Rome. In 161 B.C., the last year of his life, Judas heard of the fame of the Romans, that they had subdued Galatia and possessed the rich mines of Spain (Ἰβερία).[1] The connotation of Gaul with Spain may possibly imply that Judas's informants, or rather those of the author of 1 Maccabees, were Jews who had come from the maritime cities of Provence and Spain, which had long been trade centres for Greeks and Carthaginians. Judas naturally knew of the victories of Rome nearer home over Philip, Perseus, and Antiochus.[2] He had also received a garbled account of the Roman constitution. No Roman wore a crown or royal purple. Their rulers were three hundred and twenty and met in a senate-house every day. Each year they committed their government to one man to whom all were obedient, and thus there was neither strife nor emulation in Rome. The crudity of this account, especially the mention of only one instead of two consuls, shows that the description may have been almost contemporary; for it represents what an Eastern people might be expected to report of a Western nation of which nothing was known save by hearsay.[3] The embassy was favourably received and a treaty made,[4] which was twice renewed by the successors of Judas:[5] but nothing came of the Roman alliance except that it may have encouraged certain Jews to establish themselves in the city.

(b) Expulsion of Jews.

In 139 B.C., in the consulship of Popillius Laetus and Marcus Calpurnius, the *praetor peregrinus* forced the Jews to go back to their home for corrupting public morals by their worship of

[1] 1 Macc. viii. 1 ff.

[2] 1 Macc. viii. 5. 6. Philip had been defeated at Cynocephalae (197 B.C.), Antiochus at Magnesia (191 B.C.), and Perseus at Pydna (168 B.C.).

[3] 1 Macc. viii. 14-16.

[4] 1 Macc. viii. 22-32; Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 10. 6.

[5] 1 Macc. xii. 1-4. This is followed by a longer account of a treaty between the Jews and the Lacedaemonians, with whom they claimed kinship: xiv. 24 ff., xv. 16 ff.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 8, xiii. 7. 2, xiii. 9. 2.

Jupiter Sabazius. Such is a statement found in Valerius Maximus, but the meaning is uncertain.[1] Perhaps the Jews tried to proselytise in favour of their God, Jahweh Sabaoth (Κύριος σαβαώθ), in whom the Romans saw the oriental Zeus Sabazius.

(c) Pompey and Jewish community in Rome.

After this nothing more is heard of the Jews in Rome till the triumph of Pompey, when in 62 B.C. he brought many of them captives. A large number of these were set free and obtained the citizenship, settling in the district beyond the Tiber.[2] They enjoyed the right of practising their national religion undisturbed, having their own synagogues, and collecting and remitting the Temple tax regularly to Jerusalem. The Jewish community formed a distinct feature in the life of the City. They are alluded to by contemporary social observers like Horace[3] and Juvenal.[4] When Cicero delivered his oration on behalf of Flaccus in 59 B.C. he declared that he had to beware of the Jews, many of whom were doubtless in the audience,[5] and the lamentations of the Roman Jews at the tomb of Caesar, their generous protector, was a notable feature of the public distress.[6] Under Augustus they were treated with marked favour, and of the nine synagogues, of which traces are preserved in inscriptions, one is that of the Augustesians and another of the Agrippesians—Jews of the household of Augustus and of his friend and minister Agrippa.[7]

(d) Jews banished.

In the days of Tiberius another banishment of the Jews from Rome is recorded. A lady named Fulvia was swindled by a Jew who collected offerings to the Temple, and appropriated the

[1] Cf. E. Schürer, *G.J.V.* vol. iii. p. 58. The words are "Idem (the praetor Hispalus) Judaeos, qui sabazi Jovis cultu Romanos inficere mores conati erant, repetere domos suas coegit."

[2] Phil. *Legat.* p. 23, *τὴν πέραν τοῦ Τιβέρεως ποταμοῦ μεγάλην τῆς Ῥώμης ἀποτομήν*, sc. the Janiculum.

[3] Horace, *Sat.* i. 4, 141-3.

[4] Juvenal, *Sat.* iii. 12-16.

[5] *Pro Flacco*, 28.

[6] Suetonius, *Caesar*, 84.

[7] The other seven are the Volumnesians (Βολουμνησίων), Campesians (Campus Martius), Siburesians (Subura), a synagogue of Αἰβρέων (Hebrews), a synagogue "of the Olive," a synagogue Βερνακλησίων or Βερνακλώρων (i.e. *vernaculorum*), and a synagogue Καλκαρησίων or lime-kiln workers. See Schürer, *G.J.V.* vol. iii. pp. 83 ff.

money. On the complaint of her husband Saturninus, Tiberius ordered the Jews to be expelled from the city, and four thousand were sent to penal servitude or to make war on the robbers in Sardinia. Josephus remarks that some refused to serve in the army on conscientious grounds.[1] This was in A.D. 19, and it is said that the Emperor was influenced in his action by Sejanus.[2] The Jews were allowed to return in A.D. 31,[3] and Claudius at the beginning of his principate published an edict in favour of the Jews,[4] but later occurred the famous expulsion for tumults instigated by "Chrestus."[5] Such sporadic action on the part of the Government was powerless to keep them out of the city: they soon flocked back and exercised a good deal of secret influence. They seem, from the inscriptions, to have had their own senates (γερουσίαι), each with a president (γερουσιάρχης): their rulers (ἄρχοντες) are also mentioned.[6] They enjoyed the patronage of great ladies like the Empress Poppaea, to whom Josephus owed an introduction through Aliturus, the Jewish actor.[7] The Herods mingled freely with the Roman aristocracy.[8] Their religion was recognised, and of all inhabitants of the empire the Jews alone were exempted from adoring the Emperor. The influence of the early Jewish Christian community at Rome was evidently considerable, and disseminated by those who travelled far afield like Aquila and Priscilla.[9]

Of the Dispersion west of Rome we learn nothing from the New Testament, but it was already in existence, as Paul's desire to go to Spain seems to indicate.[10] In fact the words of the Sibyl,

[1] Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 5; Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 85; Suet. *Tiberius*, 36.

[2] Euseb. *Chronic.* ed. Schoene, ii. 150, and see Schürer, *G.J.V.* vol. iii. p. 61.

[3] Philo, *Legat.* 24.

[4] Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 5. 2.

[5] Acts xviii. 2; Suetonius, *Claudius*, 25. See also Dio Cassius, lx. 6, according to whom Claudius merely forbade Jewish assemblies. Tacitus and Josephus say nothing about the expulsion.

[6] Schürer, *op. cit.* vol. iii. pp. 84 ff.

[7] *Vita*, 3.

[8] *Supra*, pp. 14 ff.

[9] Aquila and Priscilla are at Corinth, Acts xviii. 2; Ephesus, Acts xviii. 26, and Rome (or Ephesus ?), Rom. xvi. 3.

[10] Romans xv. 28.

which may be as early as 140 B.C., may be applied to the Dispersed of Israel:

πᾶσα δὲ γαῖα σέθεν πλήρης καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα.[1]

The bonds of union which kept together as a single body a nation so widely scattered, numbering, it has been computed, as many as from six to seven million souls, were stronger than those which the Jews have possessed since the destruction of that great centralising influence, the Temple of Jerusalem. How united in feeling were the Jews is shown in Acts in the unanimity with which they acted everywhere, except at Rome,[2] in opposition to Paul. Jews in every part of the world were reminded of their common nationality by the systematised order in their communities. UNITY OF DISPERSED JEWS.

The Temple tax, based on a law in Exodus xxi. 2-6: "When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel after their number, then shall they give every man a ransom of his soul unto the Lord, when thou numberest them; that there be no plague among them when thou numberest them. This they shall give, every one that passeth among them that are numbered half a shekel after the shekel of the sanctuary (a shekel is twenty gerahs), an half-shekel shall be the offering of the Lord. Every one that passeth among them that are numbered, from twenty years old and above, shall give an offering unto the Lord. The rich shall not give more and the poor shall not give less, when they give an offering unto the Lord to make an atonement for your souls. And thou shalt take the atonement money of the children of Israel; and shalt appoint it for the service of the tabernacle of the congregation." As in the time of Nehemiah the Jews at Jerusalem resolved to pay the third part of a shekel every year for the service of the sanctuary, it has been supposed that the law of the payment of the half-shekel is one of the latest parts of the Priests' Code. But the law does not appear to suggest that the payment was annual, but was only demanded (a) The half-shekel.

[1] *Orac. Sybil.* iii. 271.

[2] Acts xxviii. 21-22.

when a numbering of the people took place.[1] The tax was levied on every Jew of the age of twenty, and it was regarded as a privilege, as it was an open question whether a woman or a minor could offer it. The money was collected and stored in certain places for remittance to Jerusalem.[2] It was known in the first century as the δίδραχμα, because, as it had to be paid in Tyrian money, כסף צורי, the half-shekel, was equal to two drachmas of that coinage. It is so called in Josephus and in Matthew xvii. 24, where the stater is found in the fish's mouth to pay the tax for Jesus and Peter at the request of οἱ τὸ δίδραχμα λαμβάνοντες.[3] After the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem, the money was exacted as the *fiscus Judaicus* by the Roman Government.

(*b*) Synagogue worship.

The synagogue worship, it may be said without exaggeration, proved to be the salvation of Judaism. The religion contemplated by the Law could only have been practised in Palestine, within easy distance of the Temple. As it was, the Jewish communities were kept together in every city and a worship was provided which could be practised anywhere, without sanctuary sacrifice or priesthood.

Temple at Elephantine.

The first direct notice of a Jewish community away from Palestine is that of the colony of Yeb (Elephantine), which in the sixth century B.C. had a temple and altar of its own.[4] In the seventy-fourth Psalm the heathen are said to have destroyed all the "houses of God" מועדי אל in the land. These have been explained as synagogues and the Psalm assigned to the

[1] Neh. x. 32; cf. Numb. i. 1; Schürer, p. 24, note 104; *G.J.V.* ii. p. 314, note 49. According to some authorities, 2 Chr. xxiv. 4-10 seems to contemplate an annual tax. See also 4 Macc. iii. 20.

[2] Cf. especially Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 9. 1. One of the charges against Flaccus is that he would not allow the money to be sent out of his province of Asia to Jerusalem. Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 23.

[3] Schürer, *loc. cit.* note 52; Matt. xvii. 24; Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 9. 1, calls this tax δίδραχμον, in *B.J.* vii. 6. 6 δύο δραχμάς, in *Antiq.* iii. 8. 2 σίκλου τὸ ἥμισυ. The LXX. translates in Exodus xxx. 13, ἥμισυ τοῦ διδράχμου, reckoning by the Alexandrian double drachma. For a fuller discussion see Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. "Money," by A. R. S. Kennedy.

[4] The Temple at Yeb was spared by Cambyses (528–521 B.C.) when he destroyed the idolatrous temples of Egypt. Mond Papyri, *vide supra.*

Maccabean period, so that the worship is thought to be traceable to that age. But the inference is precarious, and all that can be said with confidence is that in the days of the New Testament, Philo, and Josephus, synagogues were to be found throughout Palestine and Egypt and in every part of the Empire.[1] Nay, so popular was this form of worship that, under the very shadow of the Temple of Jerusalem, the Jews of different nations had their synagogues.[2] It is remarkable that "Luke" gives the only description of synagogue worship in the New Testament, as he does also of the Temple services; and except for three brief notices from Philo, the third Gospel and Acts are our oldest authorities for the worship, the Mishna from which our main information is derived being some century or more later. Jesus, according to Luke iv. 16-21, entered the synagogue at Nazareth on the Sabbath, and stood up to read. He was given the scroll of Isaiah, and having read it he rolled it up and handed it to the attendant (ὑπηρέτῃ) and sat down. He then expounded the passage he had read. When in Acts xiii. 15, Paul and Barnabas were in the synagogue in Pisidian Antioch the "rulers" sent to them after the reading of the Law and the prophets to ask if they had aught to say. Thereupon Paul stood up and addressed the people. In Luke xiii. 14, the ruler (ἀρχισυνάγωγος) is evidently responsible for order being maintained; for he rebukes the woman for coming to the synagogue to be healed. Philo truly says that the distinctive feature of the synagogue worship was the reading of the Law;[3] to which were added selections

[1] Schürer remarks, *G.J.V.* vol. ii. p. 517 f., on the rarity of the use of the word synagogue, so common in the N.T., in Philo and Josephus. Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber*, c. 12, says of the Essenes, they come to Holy places which are called synagogues. But ordinarily he uses προσευχή (cf. Acts xvi. 13 and Josephus, *Vita* 54): nor is it certain that he uses the word synagogue in our sense. Josephus has synagogue thrice: *Antiq.* xix. 6. 3; *B.J.* ii. 14. 4. 5., vii. 3. 3.

[2] Acts vi. 9.

[3] Philo's descriptions of the synagogue are: (1) from the lost *Hypothetica* quoted in Eusebius, *Praep. Evan.* viii. 7; (2) *De Septenario*, 6 (Mang. ii. 282); (3) *Quod omnis probus liber*, 12 (Mang. ii. 458); (4) *De Somniis*, ii. 18 (Mang. i. 675). The passages are given in Schürer, *G.J.V.* ii. pp. 527 f.

from the prophets. But in the days of the New Testament at any rate instruction was a leading characteristic of the synagogues, and naturally disputation was combined therewith. Jesus is said to have taught, Paul to have disputed in them.[1] The synagogue, moreover, seems to have been the centre of every Jewish community, each with a jurisdiction of its own. Indeed as early as the fourth Gospel the synagogue became a synonym for Judaism, and the term for excommunication was *ἀποσυνάγωγος γενέσθαι*.[2] Two portions of the ancient liturgy of the first century are still in use. The *Shema*, "Hear O Israel the Lord thy God is one Lord," consisting of Deut. vi. 4-9, xi. 13-21, Numb. xv. 37-41, and the Shemoneh Ezreh or "eighteen benedictions" with an added prayer against apostates.

(c) Study of the Law.

The study of the Law was the supreme duty of every Jew, and the result was an educational system which bound together the dispersed nation. Though some of the Law could only be observed in Palestine, such as attendance on the Temple services and the payment of the tithe of the produce of the Land, yet the Jews in heathen countries adhered to the Law as strictly as possible. Philo's liberalism, as shown by his Platonising tendencies, has no place for Jews who showed laxity in regard to their legal obligations.[3] The children learned the Scriptures, like Timothy, the son of a Gentile father and Jewish mother, from infancy,[4] and before the legal age they were encouraged to practise such laws as fasting on the Day of Atonement and observing Tabernacles. A late tradition in the Baba Bathra in the Babylonian Talmud says that Jesus the son of Gamaliel (possibly High Priest A.D. 63-65) ordered that there should be teachers of boys in every province and every town.[5] The rigidity with which separation from the Gentiles was practised is seen throughout the Pauline Epistles and Acts. The Hellenistic Jews were in fact active and zealous for the Law throughout the

[1] Mark i. 21; Acts xviii. 4.
[2] John ix. 22.
[3] Philo, *De migratione Abrahami* (i. 950).
[4] Acts xvi. 1; 2 Tim. iii. 15.
[5] *Baba Bathra* 21*a*, quoted fully in Schürer, *G.J.V.* ii. p. 494.

Empire: and its observance kept them separate from other men, and united to one another.

(d) Visits to Jerusalem.

The obligation to visit Jerusalem was felt by every Jew, as the crowds which assembled on the occasion of the festivals testified. Naturally a Jew living in a country remote from the Holy City could rarely visit the Temple; but Jerusalem was the heart of the whole system of the Dispersion. Thither the Jews crowded, and returned strengthened in their devotion and with a stronger sense of national unity. The Paschal season, according to the Talmud, was heralded by the repair of the bridges throughout Palestine and the whitening of the Sepulchres, the latter with the object of preventing the pilgrims unwittingly incurring defilement.[1] After the Jewish war the Roman Government, realising how great was the danger of Jerusalem becoming a centre of disaffection, prohibited the Jews from approaching the city, and the erection of the purely Gentile city of Aelia Capitolina by Hadrian was a proof of the seriousness of their apprehension.

(e) Immunities and privileges.

The common immunities and privileges of the nation are a standing proof of the wisdom and toleration of the Roman Government, which under no provocation allowed the Jews to be persecuted for their religion. In this they followed the general policy of the Seleucids and Ptolemies, and their toleration extended to all nationalities in the Empire, which were allowed to maintain their peculiar customs and worship, and even to form communities of their own. The Jews, however, had such distinctive peculiarities that separate legislation was necessary to secure them. The Temple tax, which had been held back by Flaccus in Asia, under Augustus was allowed to be freely paid.[2] Titus, in addressing the Jews, expressed his opinion that this concession was the greatest made by the Romans to their nation. "It can, therefore," he continued, "be nothing but the kindness of the Romans which hath excited you against us; who in the

[1] Box, *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, p. 356, alluding to the Mishna, *Shekalim* 1.

[2] Philo, *Legatio* 23.

first place have given you this land to possess: and in the next place have set over you kings of your own nation; and in the third place have preserved the Laws of your forefathers to you, and have withal permitted you to live either by yourselves or among others; and what is our chief favour of all we have given you leave to gather up the tribute which is paid to God, with such other gifts as are dedicated there; nor have we called those who carried these donations to account, nor prohibited them till at length you became richer than we ourselves, even when you were our enemies: and you made preparation for war against us with our money." [1] These words, put into the mouth of Titus by Josephus, give a just description of the indulgent attitude of the Romans towards the Jewish people. In addition to this the observance of the Sabbath was carefully safeguarded, and the Jews were frequently exempted from military service. Josephus has carefully preserved the decrees in their favour; and has recorded the indulgence shown to their prejudices by Julius Caesar and continued by Augustus.[2] In *civil* cases, according to Josephus, they enjoyed a separate jurisdiction. In Alexandria and Cyrene they formed a distinct community of their own, and in Rome each separate synagogue seems to have exercised its own jurisdiction. But the widespread belief that the Jewish authorities had power to arrest transgressors of the Law and to beat or imprison recalcitrant Jews throughout the empire is not supported by any further testimony than that of Acts.

Proselytes.

Proselytism was carried on during the first century with energy, and in the Gospel according to Matthew it is declared that the Pharisees would "compass sea and land to make one proselyte." [3] To Roman society Judaism was interesting, and not altogether unattractive. There was an air of mystery about

[1] Josephus, *B.J.* vi. 6. 2 (Whiston's translation), τὸ δὲ μέγιστον δασμολογεῖν τε ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἀναθήματα συλλέγειν ἐπετρέψαμεν, καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα φέροντας οὔτ' ἐνουθετήσαμεν οὔτε ἐκωλύσαμεν ἵνα ἡμῖν γένησθε πλουσιώτεροι καὶ παρασκευασήσθε τοῖς ἡμετέροις χρήμασι καθ' ἡμῶν.

[2] The edicts are quoted in *Antiq.* xiv. 10 and *Antiq.* xvi. 6. For the policy of Augustus, see Philo, *Legatio* 40.

[3] Matt. xxiii. 15.

it; the Jew was credited with supernatural powers, and the purity of his domestic life commended itself to those disgusted with the relaxed morality of their age. It was in appeal to this feeling that Josephus, when he wrote his *Life* in the closing days of his career, thoroughly understanding those whom he was addressing, emphasised his unblemished priestly lineage, his father's piety, his own precocity in understanding the Law of God, and his asceticism in accustoming himself to the three sects, and to the rigid discipline of the hermit Bannus.[1] At the critical moment of his life he did not hesitate to declare himself a messenger sent by God to announce to Vespasian that he would possess the empire of the world, and evidently impressed the general and his son Titus with the idea that he was an inspired prophet.[2] The very facts that the Jew worshipped a God whose name was unknown, and that he obeyed a law which to the world seemed unnatural and repugnant, contributed to surround him with an atmosphere of mystery so that men and especially women were irresistibly attracted towards so strange a religion, but it seems probable that many stopped short of complete adhesion to it. The synagogues, according to Acts, were largely attended by non-Jews,[3] who seem to have been called "God-fearers,"[4] and there were persons who, even though, like Timothy, they were the children of a Jewish mother, and had received a careful instruction in the Scriptures, yet had never undergone the indispensable rite of circumcision. Submission to this painful and even dangerous ordinance had the effect of making many men hesitate to become Jews, and the majority of those who formally joined Israel were evidently women. Undoubtedly most Gentiles who admired the tenets of Judaism were satisfied with remaining as friendly outsiders, nor did the Jews object to this arrangement. Strictly, of course, these Gentiles had no position in the community of Israel. Until they had been

[1] *Vita*, c. 1. [2] *B.J.* iii. 8. 9.
[3] Acts xiii. 44 ff.
[4] This subject will be discussed in the Commentary.

circumcised, and had taken upon them the obligation to accept the whole Law, they could not look to share in the glories of the Messianic age, though they were, according to some Rabbis, not without hope for the world to come. But in such matters there were teachers more charitable than logical; and the language of eschatology is, as a rule, conveniently vague.

Izates of Adiabene.

A striking example of a believer in Judaism who hesitated to become a full Jew is seen by Josephus's account of the royal convert Izates of Adiabene, which has already been mentioned.[1] Izates, before he became king, was converted through the women of his household by a Jewish merchant named Ananias. His mother, Helena, at the same time embraced Judaism independently. Under her influence Izates became so zealous for Judaism that he decided to be circumcised, but was dissuaded by both Helena and Ananias, who dreaded the effect on his subjects. Ananias was succeeded by a more uncompromising teacher, named Eleazar, who assured Izates that by not being circumcised he was guilty of great impiety. Thereupon Izates obeyed, and became a Jew in every respect. This illustrates in all probability the attitude of many a sympathiser with Jewish teaching, as well as two types of propagandism. In Ananias is seen the Jew who is satisfied that a Gentile should accept his belief and no more, in Eleazar the man who will admit of no compromise.[2] It is noticeable that the Sibylline Oracles urge the Gentiles to worship the true God and expect the judgment, but demand nothing more except that they should take a bath of purification.[3]

It may indeed be said that the story of the conversion of Izates is not very conclusive, for the advice of his first spiritual guide was dictated by motives of prudence or by fear. Even

[1] *Antiq.* xx. 2. 4.

[2] Exactly the same thing is recognisable in the spread of Jewish Christianity. Like Ananias, Paul and his school desired acceptance of their doctrine as of primary importance: like Eleazar, James and the Jews of Jerusalem demanded that the genuineness of belief should be tested by a man's willingness to be circumcised.

[3] *Orac. Sibyll.* iv. 165.

more instructive, therefore, though less historical, is the story of Antoninus and Rabbi (Judah na-hasí), in which the Patriarch assures the Emperor that he will be admitted, without circumcision, to a place at the banquet in the world to come at which the Leviathan will be served up. The Emperor, however, did not feel so sure about it, inasmuch as without circumcision he could not be allowed to eat the Paschal lamb in this world, and accordingly had himself circumcised. As a reward for this supererogatory virtue, in the procession of righteous proselytes in the world to come Antoninus will head the whole line.[1]

Zeal in making proselytes.

The interest in the subject of Jewish proselytism is twofold. As affecting the purity of the race, much depends on the extent to which it went on under the Roman rule from the days of Pompey to the fall of Jerusalem. The extraordinary increase of Jews in the Empire may have been due to the widespread propagation of their religion, rather than to any unusual fecundity. Though most adults remained permanently in the fringe of the Synagogue, content with the certainty of the joys of the World to Come, without seeking to secure also the Days of the Messiah at the expense of circumcision, their children probably went further, became proselytes in the fullest sense, and were merged with Jews by blood. To this Juvenal bears witness in the famous passage in which he described the progress of a family toward Judaism. The father keeps the Sabbath and eschews pork, worshipping the clouds and the God of the sky. The sons become circumcised, despise the laws of Rome, and learn and tremble at those of Moses; they join those who are so separated from ordinary humanity that they will tell the way or show where water can be found only to those of their own religion.[2] To the student of Christian origins, moreover, it is interesting to enquire how far the first missionaries took over the more liberal Jewish methods. They seem to have copied

[1] *Jewish Encycl.* Art. "Antoninus in the Talmud," by Dr. L. Ginzberg.
[2] Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv. 96-106.

them in insisting that the worship of one God was the true natural religion of mankind, and that what was commendable in heathen systems and philosophies was due to divine revelation. Many a half-proselyte was doubtless attracted by their preaching, and having begun in the synagogue ended in the church.

Importance of Dispersion to Christianity.

Such was the Dispersion, a world-wide organisation of a nation and a religion, permeating an immense empire and extending far beyond its frontiers. The Jews outside Palestine were a people practically ignored by Greek and Roman antiquity, scarcely heeded in their classical literature. If noticed at all they were scoffed at as beggars or credulous impostors, but nevertheless they had filled the world, and their settlements formed a series of posts along the great highways of trade and empire from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic. The extent of the Dispersion was probably far greater than the evidence of inscriptions shows; for poor men, as most of the Jews undoubtedly were, leave few if any permanent memorials, and between the Jews of the first fifty years of our era and those who appear in Church history or Rabbinical literature lies as a gulf the Jewish war, and the extermination of a great part of the nation. But the fact of the Dispersion is undoubted, and is one of the chief clues to the early history of the Christian Church. Not only its organisation, but the spirit which animated it, and the ideals which it taught were part of the heritage which the Church shared with the Synagogue. Though possessed with instincts of self-preservation and adaptability almost unique in humanity, the Jew is essentially an idealist, cherishing dreams of happiness and peace in a future age of righteousness. A pilgrim and stranger upon earth, he always desires a better country, which, like Moses, he sees at a distance though he cannot enter it. This vision in years of adversity comforted the children of Israel in strange lands, and in the days of persecution proved to be the inspiration of the sons of the Church.

II

THE GENTILE WORLD

I

THE ROMAN PROVINCIAL SYSTEM

By H. T. F. Duckworth

I. Its Origin down to 63 B.C.

In the first century A.D. the Roman Empire still contained a considerable variety of governments. There were many autonomous cities, each with its own territory, its own laws and magistrates, and its own currency. There were dependent kingdoms and principalities. A confederacy of cities existed in Lycia down to A.D. 43, when it was dissolved by Claudius "ob exitiabiles discordias."[1] There were tribal cantons, which the Emperors endeavoured to reorganise as municipalities, similar to those of Italy. But while the *imperium* exercised in a spirit of monarchy clearly tended towards uniformity, as may be seen especially in the municipal laws of Julius and Augustus, progress of this tendency was far from being hasty or indiscriminate. The "settlement of the Principate," as the constitutional Acts of 27 and 23 B.C. are collectively called, certainly was the beginning of a distinctly marked epoch in the history of Rome's dependencies. But the transition was not accompanied by disturbing alterations or drastic and hurried reconstruction.

Diversities of governments within Roman Empire.

The Romans had no preconceived theory of the government of subject countries. They preferred to make use of such machinery of government as they found already in existence. Thus they were willing to utilise clan-chieftains and clan-councils as organs

[1] Suetonius, *Claudius*, 25.

of their suzerainty, making them responsible for the collection of *stipendia*[1] and the maintenance of order, much as the Plantagenets and Henry VII. attempted to govern Ireland by making the native chieftains their liege-men.

Government, however, through the intermediate agency of clan-chieftains, was found—especially in Spain—to be unsatisfactory, the chieftains so often proving unreliable; and the Romans as a rule set about establishing (among the native population) city-communities of men drawn mostly from Rome or Italy. The Roman Commonwealth was essentially a city-state, and its external relations down to the end of the third century B.C. had been generally entered into with similar political units. Wherever, therefore, the Romans found such organisations already existing, they used them to support their *imperium*; and, even where there were none, they endeavoured to create them as educational centres for training half-civilised communities in Roman habits and manners.

West Romanised: East continues Hellenistic.

Owing to this wise policy the peoples of the West became Romanised, and ultimately more Roman than Rome herself. But for the same reason the peoples of the East became Hellenised. Rome saved a great portion of the work done by Alexander, and even rounded it off in certain regions, for instance in Cappadocia. It stands to the credit of Roman imperial policy that Bithynia produced Dio Chrysostom, Arrian, and Dio Cassius; that Athens, Tarsus, and Alexandria continued to be habitations of Greek learning and letters; that Cilicia produced Paul, and Cappadocia Basil and the two Gregories. The countries between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean were saved from the Parthians by having been annexed to the Roman

[1] As to *stipendia* there were two theories. According to one, they were a war-indemnity. But this theory did not fit the case of subject countries which had become provinces by bequest of native rulers, as Asia did in 133 B.C. and Cyrenaica about forty years later. In such cases, therefore, *stipendia* were defined as rent paid to the Roman People for soil of which it had become the owner. See Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, pp. 319-320; Tenney Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, pp. 94 and 245.

Empire; and though Hellenism was destined to be submerged by waves of Saracen and Turkish invasion, it received from the Roman Emperors a political organisation which enabled it for many centuries to resist the Moslems, and became the groundwork of an ecclesiastical system which sheltered Greek nationality in the worst days of Turkish despotism.

Earliest Roman Provinces.

First on the chronological list of Roman provinces[1] comes Sicily, whence the Romans expelled the power of Carthage in the first Punic War, 264–241 B.C. Next comes Sardinia, seized in 237 B.C. when Carthage was engaged in a struggle for life with a host of insurgent mercenaries. In 227 B.C. two additional praetors, one for the government of Roman Sicily, the other for that of Sardinia with the adjacent Corsica, were elected. Thirty years later, two more praetors were instituted for the government of the territory acquired in Spain, which was divided into a Nearer and a Further province (*Hispania Citerior*, *Hispania Ulterior*). After the overthrow of the House of Antigonus at Pydna in 168 B.C., Macedonia was divided into four confederacies, mutually isolated as far as possible (according to the time-honoured maxim *divide et impera*), but not actually superintended by a Roman governor until the advisability of placing one on the spot, with an army, had been proved by an insurrection which broke out in 148 B.C. Macedonia became a province in 146 B.C., and in the same year Carthage was destroyed and the series of Roman governors of the Provincia Africa began. The greater part of the dominions of Attalus, King of Pergamum, who bequeathed them to the Roman People at his death in 133 B.C.,

[1] *Provincia* signifies primarily a branch of affairs administered by a magistrate elected by the Roman People as an agent of its sovereignty (*imperium*). For instance, the duties and functions of the *Praetor Urbanus* constituted a *provincia*; so did those of the *Praetor Peregrinus*. The conduct of a campaign, or a series of campaigns, was a *provincia* (cf. Livy, xxxii. 27 and 28; xxxiii. 43 and 44; Suetonius, *Caesar*, 19), as was also the supervision of affairs in a conquered country; and thus we arrive at the use of *provincia* to denote a certain area of territory, whose inhabitants were styled "allies of the Roman People," but treated as subjects, inasmuch as they were made to pay *stipendia* either in money or in kind.

was organised as a Roman province in 129 B.C. The Balearic pirates compelled the Romans in 123 B.C. to place their islands under the governor of Nearer Spain; and about the same time measures were taken for the formation of a Roman province between the Alps and the Pyrenees. This province was known as the Narbonese (*Provincia Narbonensis*) from the name of its chief city and headquarters of government, the Roman colony Narbo Martius, founded in 118 B.C. It was also spoken of as *Gallia Transalpina*, in contradistinction from *Gallia Cisalpina*, the region between the Alps and the Apennines. The depredations practised by the Cilician pirates caused in 102 B.C. the institution of the Cilician province by the appointment of a Roman praetor to set up his headquarters at some place on the Cilician coast and conduct such operations as he should find practicable by land or sea, or both, against the pirate strongholds. With the exception, however, of a vigorous invasion of the inland region by P. Servilius Isauricus, about 76 B.C., nothing of note was effected against the Cilician pirates until 67 B.C., when Pompey was armed with extraordinary powers for their suppression.

Sicily made tributary.

When the Romans replaced the Carthaginians in Sicily, they proclaimed the inhabitants of the island their allies, but made them tributary, thus inaugurating a new policy in dealing with allied communities, since hitherto they had been content with, at most, controlling external relations and requiring military aid. It cannot be said that any economic motive of empire shows itself in the history of Roman annexations between 241 and 133 B.C., although the tribute of Macedonia was utilised in 167 B.C. to relieve all land owned by Romans in Italy from taxation, a privilege which in course of time became attached to the soil of the whole peninsula.[1] But this seems to have been the most that was achieved in the century after 241 B.C. by way of lightening Roman financial

[1] This exemption was abolished by Diocletian and Maximian. Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, pp. 188-189 (ed. 1906).

burdens at the expense of subject-allies. The Spains were but lightly taxed; for Carthage (or rather Hamilcar) had pursued a lenient policy towards the Celto-Iberian population, which Rome continued. Even Sicily did not contribute greatly to the treasury of the Roman Commonwealth. As early as 149 B.C. a special commission (*quaestio extraordinaria*) was instituted for dealing with charges of extortion (*res repetundae*) brought against Roman provincial governors; for the Senate did not deliberately wage wars of conquest to find opportunities of speedy enrichment for individual members of its order.

Rome annexed unwillingly.

Moreover, the policy of Rome never was one of "expansion," except under constraint. To give permanence to the victories over Carthage, obtained at the cost of enormous expenditures of blood and money, it was necessary that Rome should take the position previously held by her rival in Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain. The early victories in the East, won at Cynoscephalae in Thessaly (197 B.C.) and Magnesia by the Maeander (190 B.C.), and the invasion of Galatia by Gnaeus Manlius Vulso (189 B.C.),[1] were not followed by any annexations either in the Balkan Peninsula or in Asia Minor. The Macedonian province was not constituted until experience had proved the advisability of stationing a Roman army to protect the city-republics of Greece and Macedonia against the southward movements of the barbarous nations—such, for example, as the Celtic Scordisci of the region between the Morava and the Drave—whom the House of Antigonus had held at bay for a hundred years. In overthrowing that dynasty the Romans had made themselves liable for its responsibilities. The territories of Corinth and Thebes became Roman state-domains, but the taxes imposed upon Macedonia

[1] Professor Tenney Frank, in his recent work on Roman Imperialism, represents "Sentimental Philhellenism" as the motive of the Senate in resolving to make war upon Philip V. of Macedonia. When the Romans had "arranged themselves" with Philip, they were assailed by his ally Antiochus of Asia. The object of Vulso's expedition into Galatia was to "put the fear" into the Celts. Vulso may be said to have been quite successful. All Asia Minor rejoiced over the humiliation of the Celts, whose aggressiveness had made them odious to their neighbours.

were only one half of those which had been paid to the kings.[1] When Carthage was destroyed, lest she should once more become a menace to the very existence of Rome, a considerable proportion of her territory was made over to neighbouring Punic cities.

Policy of the Gracchi in forcing Senate to accept Asia.

The province of Asia, as we have seen, fell to Rome by bequest. Left to itself, the Senate would probably have refused to take up the heritage of Attalus; but Tiberius Gracchus, realising how useful the revenue to be drawn from the Pergamene realm would be in financing his policy of agrarian reconstruction, forced the Senate's hand. Here, certainly, the economic motive appears; but Gaius Gracchus's institution of the system of levying tithe in Asia, by the agency of Roman tax-farmers entering into contracts with the censors in Rome—not, as in Sicily, by that of local authorities making arrangements with the governor at the provincial capital—was as much political as financial in its aim; as was also his *lex frumentaria*, the beginning of the pauperisation of the *plebs Romana*. He sought to make of the *equites*, the financial aristocracy, a perpetual opposition to the Senate, and to enforce the precedent set by himself and his brother for putting the determination of great questions of policy into the hands of the people, instead of leaving it to the Senate. Sulla for a time substituted in Asia the payment of fixed *stipendia* instead of tithe, but the old system—*censoria locatio decumarum provinciae Asiae*—was restored in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus eight years after Sulla's death.

Mithradatic War.

Cyrene was bequeathed to the Romans by Ptolemy Apion in 96 B.C., but it was not until 75 B.C. that they entered definitively upon that inheritance. Nicomedes Eupator of Bithynia,[2] dying in 75 B.C., followed the example of Attalus of Pergamum and Ptolemy of Cyrene; and the attempt of Mithradates of Pontus to

[1] Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, p. 319.

[2] It was under the régime of the Hellenising Asiatic rulers of Bithynia that the cities of Nicomedia (Ismid), Nicaea (Isnik), and Prusias (Broussa) were founded. Nicaea and Broussa are notable names in Byzantine and Turkish annals, and the former stands out prominently in the history of Christianity. Nicomedia was the residence of Diocletian and the starting-point of the last persecution of the churches by the Roman State.

prevent the execution of Nicomedes' will was the immediate cause of the great Asiatic war in which the destinies, not only of Asia Minor, but also of Syria, were decided for centuries to come. It then became clear—if indeed the previous conflict between Mithradates and Rome (88–84 B.C.) had not already brought the truth to light—that in order to hold those regions of Asia Minor which had been bequeathed to her by their kings, Rome must acquire the rest of the great peninsula either by arms or by treaties supported by force. Furthermore, the confusion and helplessness of Syria could not be regarded as a matter of indifference, if only because it constituted a danger to the position of Rome in the lands between Ararat and the Aegean.

Pompey's Settlement of the East.

The year 63 B.C. is of importance as the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the countries lying between the Caucasus and the Mediterranean, more particularly of Syria and Palestine. It was in 63 B.C. that Rome's great enemy, Mithradates of Pontus, ended his days, that Jerusalem, for the first time, was taken by a Roman army, and that the seven centuries of Roman domination over Syria and Judaea began ; [1] and from then until his departure from the East to Rome at the beginning of 61 B.C. Pompey was busy with the organisation of Asia Minor and Syria.[2]

At the time when the final conflict with Mithradates of Pontus began, Rome had two provinces on the Asiatic continent, Asia and Cilicia, the latter consisting only of a strip of territory, or perhaps a series of detached strips, on the Cilician coast. To these Pompey added Bithynia, including the western part of the kingdom of Pontus.

Asia.

In Asia he maintained the division into *conventus* for the purposes of judicial and financial administration, made by Sulla

[1] Augustus was born September 23, 63 B.C., possibly the Day of Atonement, on which Pompey entered the Temple.

[2] On Pompey's organisation of Asia Minor and Syria, see Mommsen, *History of Rome*, bk. iv. ch. v. ; Schürer, *G.J.V.* vol. i. pp. 291 ff., and vol. ii. pp. 101 ff. (§§ 12 and 23) ; Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, pp. 95-106; Tenney Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, ch. xvi.

in 84 B.C.; but the condition of the province was not prosperous, though Lucullus, in 69 B.C., had made a heroic attempt to relieve the distress caused by Sulla's imposition of a fine of twenty thousand talents and the extortions practised by the Roman *negotiatores*, to whom the Asian city-governments had recourse in order to meet this demand.

Cilicia.

In Cilicia the suppression of the pirates by the capture of their fleets and strongholds in 67 B.C. was followed by an effective extension of the province northwards from the maritime region. In the treatment of the captive pirates, Pompey displayed a wise humanity by giving them new homes in cities of Eastern Cilicia (*Cilicia Campestris*), which in the disturbances of the half-century preceding had been declining in population and wealth.[1] Cilicia, in the political sense of the term, now extended, not only along the sea-coast from the Indus[2] (the boundary of Caria and Lycia) to Issus and Alexandria ad Amanum, the modern Alexandretta, but also to a considerable depth inland, so as to include Pisidian Antioch, Philomelium, Iconium, Derbe, Laranda, and Anazarbus.

Crete and Cyprus.

The island of Crete, invaded and occupied in 67 B.C. because its harbours were at the disposal of the Cilician pirates, was added to the number of Rome's provinces. Cyprus, on the other hand, was allowed to remain under the sovereignty of one of the Ptolemies.[3]

Settlement of Syria.

A wide sweep of territory,[4] extending from the Euphrates to the north-eastern boundary of Egypt and the base of the Sinai Peninsula, was made into the province of Syria. Pompey, on

[1] Captive Cilicians were settled at Mallus, Adana, Epiphania, Soli (which was new-named Pompeiopolis) and other Cilician towns. Pompey no doubt counted upon the new townsmen to exert their fighting quality to good purpose in defending their possessions against the hill-tribes which had not yet been reduced to submission.

[2] For the name see Livy xxxviii. c. 14.

[3] Ptolemy Alexander II., who was murdered by his palace-guards after a reign of nineteen days in 81 B.C., had bequeathed his kingdom, which included Cyprus, to the Roman Republic. The Senate, however, was not eager to make Cyprus a province, and Ptolemy of Cyprus retained his position by paying tribute to all the influential members of that exalted order.

[4] Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 5, ingens terrarum sinus.

his departure from this region at the end of 63 or the beginning of 62 B.C., left Scaurus, one of his quaestors, in command *pro praetore*, with two legions. But the government both in Cilicia and in Syria was to a considerable extent carried on by the agency of vassal-princes and autonomous cities, whose several territories lay within the sphere of the governor's *imperium*. Thus, in Cilicia we find, for example, the priest-princes of the temple of Zeus at Olba, and the "dynasts" who reigned over various clans in the valleys of Mount Amanus, on the eastern border of the province. In Syria, Pompey had found the heritage of Seleucus in the hands of a number of usurpers, such as the Jew Silas, who held Lysias,[1] Cinyras the tyrant of Byblus, and Dionysius the tyrant of Tripolis. Ptolemaeus, son of Mennaeus, was lord of Chalcis and Heliopolis, and a number of other places extending from the sea-coast to the Hauran. The Hasmonaeans of Judaea had destroyed or subjugated a number of autonomous Greek or Graeco-Syrian cities. The King of Nabataea had extended his power northwards through the country east of Jordan as far as Damascus. Pompey deposed and put to death a number of these usurpers, who were indeed no better than robber-captains; but rulers who could show fairly respectable title-deeds, or were willing and able to compound adequately for their offences, were spared. Thus Sampsiceramus, the priest-king of Emesa, was left in possession. Ptolemaeus, son of Mennaeus, saved himself by disbursing a thousand talents, which Pompey turned over to his army-pay department. The temporal power of the Jewish High Priest was restricted to the bounds from which it had broken in the time of Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus, the Hellenic cities which the Jewish priest-princes had made tributary being restored to their former independence, though not exempted from tribute to Rome. The cities thus restored took the Roman annexation of Syria as the era of their local chronologies, or at least looked back to it as a happy event. The list is a notable one. Along the coast were Dora (Dor of the

[1] Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 32.

Old Testament), Stratonis Turris, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Azotus, Anthedon, Gaza with its port-town Maiouma, and Raphia. Inland were Samaria, Scythopolis, Hippos, Gadara, Abila (east of Gadara), Canatha (in the Hauran or Bashan), Pella, Dium, Gerasa. At the time of Pompey's arrival in Palestine, the cities of Philadelphia, Ptolemais (St. Jean d'Acre), and Ascalon were independent. Their freedom was confirmed by Pompey, though they were probably still under an obligation to supply the governor of Syria with military aid if required.[1]

Roman rule beyond the Euphrates.

Under an agreement made between Lucullus and a Parthian embassy in 69 B.C., the Euphrates had been recognised as the boundary between the Roman and the Parthian Empires. But Pompey, in 64 B.C., had sent more than one army across Northern Mesopotamia, from Armenia into Syria, and finally annexed Northern Mesopotamia to the dominions of Tigranes, King of Armenia, who had become *Amicus Populi Romani*. To the number of "friends of the Roman People" were also added the Arab princes who had established themselves at Edessa in Osrhoene, the region lying immediately on the left bank of the Euphrates from the crossing opposite Samosata down to the city of Nicephorium, near the confluence of the Euphrates and the Bilechas (Belik),[2] and at Palmyra.

[1] On the subject of the Hellenistic cities of Palestine and their relation to the Roman province of Syria, see Schürer, *G.J.V.* vol. ii. pp. 95-222 (§ 23); also Holm, *Hist. of Greece*, vol. iv. pp. 594-595 (E.T.). From Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 4, 5. 3, and *B.J.* i. 7. 7, 8. 4, it appears that the actual reorganisation was carried out by Aulus Gabinius, proconsul of Syria 57–54 B.C. The local chronologies appear on the coins minted by the several cities. Ἄρχοντες, Βουλή and Δῆμος are the constituent factors in every case, so far as is known; the βουλή or city-council being a relatively large body. The polities were timocratic or moderately democratic. "Syria, of all countries," says Holm, "is a proof that the modern definition of a province as an administrative area does not quite hit the mark. Syria was a province, and yet consisted only of cities and districts which governed themselves. All that Rome did in Syria was to exercise supervision and raise taxes" (*loc. cit.*).

[2] Osrhoene or Orrhoene means "the country of Osrhoe or Orrhoe," *i.e.* the country lying round about the city of Urha, which after Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire received a Macedonian colony and was new-named Edessa, after the burial-place of the Macedonian kings. Another Macedonian settlement was planted at Carrhae. Callinicum, the second name of Nice-

From the point of view of physical geography, the region known in ancient times as Commagene is the northernmost part of Syria. The governor of Syria exercised a general supervision, but the actual administration was left to a prince of the House of Seleucus, who had been set up as king by Lucullus in 69 B.C., and confirmed in possession of his throne by Pompey five years later. Samosata, the chief city of Commagene, commanded one of the crossings of the Euphrates. Pompey authorised the king of Commagene, as a friend and ally of the Roman People, to take possession of territory on the left or Mesopotamian bank of the river, in order that he might hold, not only the crossing, but also the approach to it. To the north of Osrhoene, and on the same side of the river, the region of Sophene was annexed to the kingdom of Cappadocia, which received an extension eastward and southward; by the annexation of Cilician territory, lying between Castabala and Derbe, to the south,[1] and of the region of Melitene (Malatiyeh) to the east. In this manner two important crossings of the Euphrates came to be held by kings allied to the Roman Commonwealth, and far more dependent upon its favour than were the kings of Armenia and Osrhoene.[2] A third crossing (Zeugma), the most important of all, as it lay nearest to Antioch and the valley of the Orontes, was directly under Roman supervision.[3]

Northern Syria.

Between Cappadocia and the Roman provinces of Cilicia, Asia, and Bithynia-Pontus lay the Galatian principalities. These had at one time been twelve in number, each of the three

Galatia.

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phorium, recalls the memory of Seleucus Callinicus, who reigned 246–226 B.C., but Holm makes Alexander himself the founder of this city. See Holm, *op. cit.* vol. iii. pp. 381 and 393, and vol. iv. p. 113. The Arab princes of Edessa intruded themselves in the midst of the confusion of the epoch 164–83 B.C., when the Seleucid kingdom broke up.

[1] Strabo, *Geographia*, xii. 1. 4.

[2] Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. v. ch. iv.

[3] Ultimately it was discovered that the soundest plan was to put Roman forces in occupation of *all* the crossings of the Euphrates. This was clearly recognised by Vespasian, who took action accordingly. See Stuart Jones, *The Roman Empire*, p. 119.

"nations" of the Tolistoboii, Trocmi, and Tectosages being divided into four.[1] The vicissitudes of the contests between Mithradates and Rome had left only three of the original twelve. The most important of these three was the principality of Deiotarus, chief of the Tolistoboii, the "nation" which occupied the region including, geographically but not politically, the city of Pessinus with its famous temple of the Mother of the Gods, whose symbol had been taken to Rome in 204 B.C.

Kingdom of Attalus.

In southern Paphlagonia, a small kingdom, standing to the Roman province of Bithynia in much the same relation as that of Emesa stood to Syria, was assigned to Attalus, who claimed descent from Pylaemenes, a Paphlagonian king, who appears in the cycle of Trojan legend as an ally of Priam. Naturally, the "Troiugenae" of Italy were not unwilling to confer an inexpensive favour upon a "kinsman."

Diversities of governments in Asia Minor.

Asia, west of Armenia and the Euphrates, as Pompey left it in 62 B.C., has been compared with the Holy Roman Empire of the Middle Ages. In both cases there is a wonderful *mélange* of polities—vassal-princedoms, great and small, some possessing, in name at least, the dignity of kingdoms, free cities, and tribal cantons. The priestly princedoms of Judaea, Emesa, Venasa, Comana of Cappadocia, Comana of Pontus, Olba, Pessinus, and Ancyra may be compared with the prince-bishoprics of mediaeval Germany. A comparison may also be not unfitly made between Roman Asia and Britain's Indian Empire. The vassal-princedoms and the free cities of Roman Asia were "protected states." The King of Cappadocia might be compared with the Nizam of Hyderabad. The resemblance between the position of the King of Armenia and the Amir of Afghanistan is striking. Again, the Empire of the Roman People in Asia and the Empire of the British Crown in India resemble each other in their tolerance of

[1] A council of 300 principal men of the Galatians, joined with the tetrarchs and other rulers, held session at a place called the Drynemetum (Oak-grove ?). It was a sort of Areopagus, taking especial cognizance of cases of murder. This council had ceased to assemble by the time that Galatia became a united vassal-kingdom. See Strabo, xii. 5. 1-2, and p. 200 below.

a great and interesting variety of religious beliefs and practices. The temple of Hanuman in Benares, with its sacred monkeys, may be compared with the temple of Atargatis at Hierapolis in northern Syria, with its sacred fish.[1] Along with the variety of religions in Roman Asia there subsisted, as in modern India, a considerable variety of languages, though native Asiatic dialects (especially in Asia Minor) were making way for Greek to an extent to which the native dialects of India have not yet made way for English, which, however, has a position not very different from that which Latin held in Asia.

Policy of Pompey in establishing native principalities.

The reason why Pompey left so many kingdoms and principalities still standing in Asia Minor and Syria, instead of dividing the whole region between the Aegean and the Euphrates, the Euxine and Arabia Petraea, into provinces supervised and governed by proconsuls and propraetors, was that following the traditional policy of the Republic, he sought to make as few changes as possible, consistently with serving Roman interests, and to avoid the expenditures which would have been necessitated by a large increase in the number of provincial governors and of the Roman armies of occupation. Though he opened copious sources of revenue for the treasury, he desired to restrict the expenditure of the Republic. Again, kings or dynasts or high priests with a life-tenure were found to be better adapted for turbulent tribes than proconsuls or propraetors, who held their positions only for a year or two. It was indeed a very serious defect in the Roman provincial system that the ordinarily brief tenure of provincial governorships left their occupants no sufficient time—even if they had the desire, which was not always the case—to make themselves properly acquainted with the countries and populations over whom they presided. But even if all proconsuls and propraetors had been indisposed to regard the provinces as *latifundia*, of which they were the successive *villici*, the great difference between the Romans and some of the tribes

[1] The inclusion of Egypt in this comparison would make the resemblance between the Roman and the British Empire still more impressive.

and nations of Asia made it wise to leave these primitive folk under rulers whose methods of government were familiar and comprehensible to them. With the progress in enlightenment which set in after Augustus had given to the Roman world "laws whereby it might dwell in peace under a prince," [1] the occupation of vassal-kings, dynasts, or tetrarchs was more and more assumed by city-governments, which grew in number. As the need of vassal-princedoms ceased, they were gradually abolished, and by the end of Vespasian's reign (A.D. 69–79) there was hardly one of them left.

Pompey's treatment of Greek cities.

It is impossible to tell with any degree of assurance whether Pompey believed that what the Romans had to do in Asia was to complete the work begun by Alexander and carried on by the House of Seleucus, so far as it lay within their power. But it is quite certain that in preserving or restoring the autonomy of existent cities, and in founding new ones, Pompey continued the policy of Alexander and the Seleucidae.[2]

(*a*) In Syria.

Mention has already been made of his liberation of Graeco-Syrian cities which in the course of some seventy or eighty years before his arrival in Syria had been subjugated or even razed to the ground by the Jews, or had fallen under the usurped power of robber-captains such as Cinyras of Byblus. When, therefore, Pompey returned from Palestine and Syria to Rome, he left a region largely occupied by autonomous, though tributary, city-states, whose elected magistrates and officials took a vast amount

[1] Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 28, deditque iura, quis pace ac principe uteremur.

[2] "The most striking feature in the internal policy of Seleucus and his successors is the attempted transfer into Asia of Greek urban life" (Scott Ferguson, *Greek Imperialism*, p. 196). This transfer had been begun by Alexander. The kings of the House of Seleucus were more truly successors of Alexander than any other dynasty which arose upon the break-up of his vast empire. Holm observes that the title of ἀδελφοὶ δῆμοι assumed by the cities of the Seleucian Tetrapolis—Antioch, Seleucia Pieria, Apamea, Laodicea (modern Latakia)—in the epoch 150–130 B.C. and stamped upon their coins is a mark of "genuine Greek civilisation in the middle of the East, an interesting contrast to the inscription ἀδελφῶν Θεῶν on the Egyptian coins, which occurs just at that time" (*Hist. of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 446, E.T.). On the subject of cities of Alexander and the Seleucidae, consult Holm, *op. cit.* vol. iii. ch. xxvii., vol. iv. chaps. v. and xiii.

of details of judicial and fiscal administration off the hands of the Roman governor and his staff. Similarly in Asia Minor, besides repopulating with captives from Western or Highland Cilicia a number of cities in Eastern or Plain Cilicia which had fallen into decay, he founded a score of new cities, most if not all of which were formed by concentrating the population of a number of villages. Although he often reversed arrangements made by Lucullus, he followed the same line of policy in the treatment of cities. Cyzicus, Sinope, and Amisus were put in enjoyment of enlarged territories, taken from old royal domains or perhaps from those of temples; Heraclea Pontica recovered her territory and harbours; and thirty-nine cities in all were added to the number of those which had been in existence before the Mithradatic Wars.

(*b*) In Asia Minor.

The Romans, as has been said, never interfered with those religions of their allies and dependents which neither sanctioned practices nor stimulated policies detrimental to the well-being of the Commonwealth. Even then they intervened to correct and restrain, not to extirpate. The orgiastic performances of the "Great Mother of the Gods" were actually introduced from Phrygia into Rome by authority of the Senate in 204 B.C., and the goddess had her temple placed within the *pomerium*.[1] Wild and repulsive as these ceremonies were, and though for a considerable period no Roman was allowed to become a priest or minister of the goddess, yet a festival in her honour was added to the Roman calendar.[2] Of exactly the same nature were the ceremonies of the goddess of Comana in Cappadocia, called Mâ by the natives, but identified by the Romans with Bellona, a goddess of war and slaughter. She was brought to Rome about 90 B.C. by soldiers who had served under Sulla in Cilicia.

Oriental religions.

So long, then, as the Asiatic priest-princes paid tribute and stirred up no rebellions, there was no cause for deposing them or proscribing their religions. At the same time, Pompey did not hesitate to abridge the extent of the temple domains if accessions

Priestly principalities.

[1] Livy xxix. 14, xxxvi. 36.

[2] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 179 f.

of territory were required for the foundation of a new city or the resuscitation of an old one. He seems, however, to have respected the territory of the Sun-god El-Gabal, who reigned in the person of his high priest over Emesa and its neighbourhood, of Apollo at Daphne on the Orontes, and of Atargatis at Hierapolis.

The Jews.

Although the Jews were allowed, in accordance with this policy, to retain their own lands, their priestly rulers being merely deprived of cities annexed by them in war, it appears that the tribute exacted from Judaea was one-third of the seed, or about one-thirtieth of the crop, and the Mosaic tithe had still to be paid to the Temple.[1]

City governments.

It is uncertain whether Pompey found any occasion to make changes in the existing forms of city-government. The thing to be desired, and even insisted upon, from the Roman point of view, was that important public offices should be accessible only to men who stood to lose most heavily by wars or revolutions, and whose position in their community was analogous to that of the *nobiles* in Roman society. In the case of those cities which were resuscitated after destruction by the Jews, or by the tyranny of robber-chiefs (such as, for example, Dionysius in the Syrian Tripolis), Pompey had no difficulty in setting up such constitutions as best suited the interests of Rome. The extent to which the constitutions of other cities required modification probably depended upon the ratio in which the numbers of the artisans and mechanics stood, in the several instances, to the total of the citizen-body. In most, if not in all, of the Syrian cities, and in a considerable number of the cities of Asia and Cilicia, there were settlements of Jews, who enjoyed equal rights of citizenship with their Gentile neighbours. Pompey left these in possession of their citizen-rights, which had originally been conferred by the Seleucidae,[2] but a large number of Jewish prisoners of war was brought to Rome by Pompey and his officers and legionaries. These, of course, were slaves, yet before long many of them were manumitted. As *libertini*, however, they

Pompey and the Jews.

[1] Tenney Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, p. 320. [2] Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3. 1.

were under obligation to serve the interests of their *patroni*, and it need not be doubted that these Jewish freedmen supported their patrons in the factions of the last years of the Republic. Besides these Jewish prisoners of war, there were many from other nations of the East. By manumission they passed into the great body of freedmen of Oriental origin who formed so large a part of that *Plebs Romana* which was contemptuously sniffed at as *faex Romuli* by Cicero,[1] and despairingly denounced, in a phrase nearly identical, by Juvenal's friend Umbricius.[2] The swelling of the ranks of the urban electorate might perhaps have been checked if censors had been regularly chosen at that time. But from 69 to 27 B.C. there were no censors. Moreover, consuls and praetors and all the *nobiles* of Rome were equally interested in having at their several service persons who could be counted upon to make themselves useful, especially at elections.

Return of Pompey to Rome.

On his return to Rome from the East in January, 61 B.C., Pompey submitted to the Senate for ratification the arrangements he had made in Asia Minor and Syria and his promises of rewards for his soldiery; but at the instance of Lucullus and others, who were jealous of his fame, or despised him for having disbanded his army before he approached the capital, his request was refused. In his irritation against the Senate, Pompey lent a willing ear to the proposals of Gaius Caesar, who returned in the summer of 60 B.C. from the government of Further Spain and victories over the Lusitanians. Caesar wished to be elected consul for the following year. He undertook that, if Pompey would give him his support and influence, the ratification of the Eastern settlement and provision for Pompey's veterans would not be delayed.

[1] Cicero, *ad Att.* ii. 1. 8. Cf. *ad Att.* i. 16. 11, illa contionalis hirudo aerarii misera ac ieiuna plebecula.

[2] Juvenal iii. 60,

> Non possum ferre, Quirites,
> Graecam urbem; quamvis quota portio faecis Achaei?
> Iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes
> Et linguam et mores et cum tibicine chordas
> Obliquas nec non gentilia tympana secum
> Vexit et ad circum iussas prostare puellas.

By reconciling Pompey and Crassus, who had been estranged since their consulate in 70 B.C., Caesar completed his preparations for his political campaign. An agreement was privately made between the three that "nothing should be done in the Commonwealth that any one of them misliked."[1] This formed the "First" Triumvirate, so called to distinguish it from the "Second" Triumvirate of Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian in 43 B.C. Caesar was elected consul, and though his colleague, Marcus Bibulus, opposed him from the very start, he bore down the opposition with unprecedented violence.

Cicero's oration *pro Flacco*.

In the year of Caesar's first consulship, *i.e.* 59 B.C.—"the consulship of Julius and Caesar"—Lucius Valerius Flaccus, who had been appointed propraetor of Asia three years before, was prosecuted in Rome on a charge of maladministration. He was defended by Cicero, the greater part of whose speech on this occasion is still extant, and throws light on the relations of Greeks and Jews to Rome. Complaints were lodged against Flaccus by Greeks, by Jews, and even by Romans resident in the province. On the other hand, witnesses to his virtues were brought from Achaea, Boeotia, Thessaly, Athens, Lacedaemon, and Massilia. Between these Greeks "ex vera atque integra Graecia" and the Asiatic Greeks Cicero drew a very effective contrast, sharpening his point by citing Greek proverbs upon the contemptible qualities of the Phrygian, the Mysian, the Carian, and the Lydian. But the true Roman feeling towards Greeks in general, whether of Greece or of the Hellenic Diaspora, breaks out in an earlier passage in the oration, in which he roundly declares that "testimoniorum religionem et fidem numquam ista natio coluit; totiusque huiusce rei quae sit vis, quae auctoritas, quod pondus, ignorant." In reply to complaints which came in the form of resolutions (ψηφίσματα) passed by the popular assemblies of Greek cities, Cicero recalls how Greece of old was brought to ruin *libertate immoderata et licentia concionum*, and censures the Greek

[1] Suetonius, *Caesar*, c. 19, ne quid ageretur in republica, quod displicuisset ulli e tribus.

city-states of the time for continuing the practice of deciding the most important questions in assemblies intoxicated by oratory. The passage suggests that in Asia the city-governments were democratic in practice. Passing on to the Jewish witnesses for the prosecution, Cicero lowered his voice lest, as he pretended, Jews in the audience should hear him, and begin an *émeute* in order to break up the defence. In exposing the frivolity of the Asiatic Greeks he had already remarked that persons from the province of Asia frequently disturbed political gatherings in Rome. The Jews' complaint against Flaccus was that he had prohibited them by edict from sending money to the Temple in Jerusalem. Large sums collected for transmission to Jerusalem had been confiscated at Apamea, Laodicea, and Adramyttium. But Cicero argued that Flaccus had acted in the interest of the province, just as Pompey had shown himself considerate towards Judaea when he left the treasury untouched after the capture of the Temple. The inhabitants of Jerusalem, Cicero says bluntly, were *suspiciosa ac maledica civitas*. As for the Jews' religion, it was a *barbara superstitio*, utterly alien to the splendour of the Roman Empire, the dignity of the Roman name, and the tradition received by the Romans from their forefathers—"all the more alien, now that this nation has shown the sentiments it entertains against our Empire, by taking up arms against it, and has proved how dear it is to the immortal Gods, by its subjugation, its dispersion, its enslavement."

Some five years later, in 66 B.C., Aulus Gabinius, proconsul of Syria, after suppressing a Jewish rebellion stirred up by the Hasmonaean princes Aristobulus and Alexander, divided Judaea into five separate and independent districts, each under a timocratic or aristocratic government. The several headquarters of these governments were fixed at Jerusalem, Jericho, Amathus (in Peraea), Gazara,[1] and Sepphoris (Galilee). A similar plan had been followed, more than a hundred years before, by L. Gabinius.

[1] *I.e.* Gezer on the confines of the hill-country and the Plain of Sharon. The reading Γαδάροις in Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 5. 4, is erroneous.

Aemilius Paullus in organising Macedonia after the overthrow of the native kingdom. But whereas Aemilius Paullus had lightened the fiscal burdens of Macedonia, Gabinius made those of Judaea heavier.

Crassus in Syria.

Twelve years later, in 54 B.C., Marcus Licinius Crassus arrived in Syria and did without hesitation what Pompey had refrained from doing. He plundered the Temple-treasury at Jerusalem, and stripping the sanctuary itself of its golden ornaments, carried off some ten thousand talents, to which he added the spoils of Atargatis, the goddess of Hierapolis-Bambyce, and other Syrian temples.

The province of Cilicia.

From 56 B.C. to the outbreak of the civil war in 49, Cilicia should be regarded as a specially important province, almost as important as Syria and decidedly more so than Asia, for while Cilicia was governed by proconsuls, Asia was governed by propraetors.[1] It does not appear that any legions were now stationed in Asia, but there were two in Cilicia. The importance of the province was further increased by the transfer from Asia to Cilicia of the *conventus* or "circuits," which were judicial and fiscal divisions of territory, of Cibyra, Apamea, and Synnada. The island of Cyprus was annexed to it soon after the death of Ptolemy (58 B.C.). It was thus to the proconsul of Cilicia, rather than to the propraetor of Asia, that the Cappadocian king now looked for protection against foreign or domestic enemies. The sea-front of the province extended from the boundary of Caria on the river Indus to the Promontory of Rhossus beyond Alexandria (Alexandretta) on the Gulf of Issus, and it was part of the governor's business to see to the welfare of the Lycian Confederacy. Within the province were included, besides the Lycian Confederacy, the autonomous cities of Attalia, Cibyra, Laodicea

[1] On the subject of the Cilician Province in 56–50 B.C. see Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. i. pp. 10-11, 341, and *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, p. 105 f. The letters of Cicero which belong to the years 51 and 50, in which he was proconsul of Cilicia, are collected in vol. iii. of Tyrrell and Purser's edition of Cicero's correspondence. See also Nos. 32, 36-40, and 42 in Watson's *Select Letters of Cicero* and the introduction to Part II. of the work.

on the Lycus, and its neighbours Hierapolis and Colossae; Apamea (the ancient Celaenae, also known as Apamea Cibotus), Apollonia, and Antioch in Pisidian Phrygia, Philomelium, Laodicea in Lycaonia, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, Laranda, Tarsus, Mopsuestia, Mallus, Alexandria on the Gulf of Issus, Soli (new-named Pompeiopolis), Seleucia on the Calycadnus, Selinus, Side, and Aspendus.[1] At Olba the High Priest of Zeus, who claimed descent from Teucer, brother of Ajax and son of Telamon, was ruler over the surrounding territory.[2]

Cicero proconsul of Cilicia.

In the Taurus mountains (especially in Pisidia and Isauria) were tribes of marauding hillmen under their several chieftains. Other tribes of marauders had their strongholds in the Amanus range on the borders of Cilicia and Syria. Cicero, who was sent as proconsul to Syria in 51 B.C. under the provisions of the law *de iure magistratuum*, carried by Pompey in the year preceding, had to undertake an expedition against the fortress of Pindenissus, which he reduced on December 17, after a siege of forty-seven days. For this success he was to his immense gratification hailed as "Imperator" by his legionaries.

Defeat and death of Pompey.

When Caesar crossed the Rubicon and marched upon Rome, Pompey withdrew to Epirus, and summoned to his aid the powers of the East, where his name was still one to conjure with. On August 9, 48 B.C., in the battle of Pharsalus in Thessaly, the days of his supremacy were finally numbered. Flying from that stricken field to the sea-coast, he took ship for Egypt. As he was being rowed in a boat from his ship to the beach near the promontory called Mons Casius, some miles east of Pelusium, he was murdered. His dead body, from which the head had been hacked off, was thrown into the sea, from which, however, it was subsequently rescued for cremation. To this pitiable and terrible end came the man who had extended the Imperium Populi Romani to the Euphrates and Ararat:

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[1] See the map of Asia Minor in 56–50 B.C. contained in Ramsay's *Historical Commentary on Galatians*.

[2] Strabo xiv. 15. 10.

iacet ingens litore truncus
Avulsumque humeris caput, et sine nomine corpus.[1]

Permanence of Pompey's work.

Nevertheless, the work that Pompey had done in Asia Minor and Syria continued to stand. He had restored or preserved a number of autonomous cities, Hellenic or Hellenised, and even added new foundations. It is true that his work in the East, so far as the preservation or enlargement of urban life was concerned, was a work which had been begun, more than two hundred and fifty years before, by Alexander, and carried on by Seleucus and his successors. But Pompey found much on the point of falling into ruins, and to him is due the praise of a preserver, restorer, and promoter of the civilising enterprises of the Macedonian kings. As we follow Paul on his journeys from province to province and from Greek city to Greek city; as we observe the growth of ecclesiastical organisation upon the basis of the cities, beginning in the Eastern provinces, and note the development of Christian theology by Greek learning sheltered by Roman law in Greek cities; we see the Church using instruments provided by Alexander and the Seleucidae, and preserved by Pompey and the Romans. The testimony of Velleius Paterculus deserves a place among the records of the Church as well as of the Empire—"Syria Pontusque Gnaei Pompeii virtutis monumenta sunt."

The Civil War and Reconstruction, 48–12 B.C.

When the victory of Caesar Octavianus over Antony and Cleopatra brought an end to civil war and reunited East and West, the victor was hailed by his fellow-citizens as the Preserver and Restorer of the Republic, and by the subject-allies as a Divine Deliverer, a god dwelling among them in visible presence. Such phrases as PACATO ORBE TERRARUM, RESTITUTA REPUBLICA, or REPUBLICA CONSERVATA, found in inscriptions dating from the years immediately following the end of the civil wars, are true signs of the times.[2] No less remarkable was the permission given by Caesar Octavianus to the provincials of Asia and Bithynia

[1] Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 557, 558.

[2] *C.I.L.* i. vi. 1527 and 873. Cf. Velleius Paterculus ii. 89. The temple of Ianus was closed (on January 11) in 29 B.C.

to build and dedicate temples to him and the goddess Roma at Pergamum and Nicomedia, the headquarters of the respective provincial governments.[1]

Settlement of 27 B.C.

Finding in 28 B.C. that his continuance at the head of the State was desired, and being at the same time resolved that the "restoration of the Republic" should not become a meaningless phrase, Octavian entered into negotiations with the Senate immediately upon taking office on January 1, 27 B.C., as consul for the seventh time. An agreement was reached, the terms of which were as follows: He was to be elected consul, as heretofore since 32 B.C., year by year. He was to be commander-in-chief of the legions, auxiliary forces, and fleets of the Commonwealth. He was to control foreign relations; declaring war, making peace, negotiating treaties, setting up and putting down vassal-princes. He was to have charge over certain countries, to which he could send his deputies as governors.[2] His person was to be as sacred as those of the *tribuni plebis*, with whom he had been associated, though as a superior rather than as an equal, by investiture with *tribunicia potestas* in 36 B.C. The military and civilian powers assigned to him by this arrangement were to be retained for ten years, reckoned from the kalends of January 27 B.C. The provinces not specially assigned to his

[1] Dio Cassius li. 20. This took place in 29 B.C., the year of Octavian's fifth consulate. Notice that Octavian "gave orders" (*ἐφῆκεν*) to the *Romans* resident in Asia and Bithynia to dedicate temples to Roma and Divus Iulius (*i.e.* the deceased dictator) at Ephesus and Nicaea respectively, while he "permitted" (*ἐπέτρεψεν*) the *provincials* to dedicate temples to himself and Roma at Pergamum and Nicomedia. Dio observes in passing that Octavian called the provincials "Greeks" (*Ἕλληνάς σφας ἐπικαλέσας*). Octavian became the divine *ἡγεμών* of the Greek cities of Europe and Asia. In the epoch of the gradual expansion of *Imperium Populi Romani* eastward Greek cities had made the Genius or "Fortune" of Rome, or individual Roman commanders—even Verres!—their divine or semi-divine *ἡγεμόνες*. The Smyrnaeans built a temple to Rome as early as 195 B.C. The example set by the provincials of Asia and Bithynia was followed by those of Galatia when their country became a Roman province, *i.e.* 25 B.C. See Mommsen, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*.

[2] These, at the time when this agreement was made, were (1) Lusitania; (2) Hispania Citerior or Tarraconensis; (3) Gallia Transalpina, from the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean coast to the Rhine; (4) Syria, with Cilicia; (5) Cyprus; (6) Egypt.

supervision were restored to the jurisdiction of the Senate and People.[1] A *lex de imperio C. Iulii C. F. Caesaris*, embodying this agreement made between Octavian and the Senate, was carried on January 13, 27 B.C. Three days later the Senate conferred upon Octavian the title of *Augustus*. At the same time it was ordered that a *corona civica* of oak-leaves should be set up over the door of Octavian's house and the door-posts wreathed with garlands of laurel.[2] This was to be done in recognition that his victories and policy had restored and preserved the Republic.

Settlement of 23 B.C.

In 23 B.C. a new settlement was made. Augustus, at the end of June in that year, abdicated the consulship (which he was then holding for the eleventh time), and it was agreed between him and the Senate that for the government of the provinces committed to his charge he should henceforth exercise proconsular authority, without the necessity of resigning it in order to enter the *pomerium*, within which arms must make way for the toga. His tenure of *tribunicia potestas* was formally renewed, and this became the basis of Imperial chronology. As consul he had enjoyed precedence (*maius imperium*) over all provincial governors, proconsuls as well as propraetors ; it was now laid down that his proconsular authority was to be superior to that of all other governors.[3] At the end of 18 B.C. his tenure of *imperium* was renewed for five years, then for another five, after which it was continued by decennial renewals.[4]

Pontifex Maximus.

In 12 B.C., on the death of Lepidus, Augustus caused himself to be elected Pontifex Maximus by the votes of the Roman People.[5]

[1] Dio Cassius liii. 1-12 and xiii. 1. Dio drew upon Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 11-13, for material wherewith to embroider his account of the proceedings in the Senate at the beginning of Octavian's seventh consulship.

[2] Compare the Aureus of 27 B.C. described in Rushforth, *Latin Historical Inscriptions*, pt. i. No. 2.

[3] Dio Cassius liii. 32. 5.

[4] Dio Cassius liii. 16. 2.

[5] *Monumentum Ancyranum*, c. 10, Pontifex Maximus ne fierem in vivi conlegae locum, populo id sacerdotium deferente mihi, quod pater meus habuit, recusavi. Cepi id sacerdotium aliquod post annos eo mortuo qui civilis motus occasione occupaverat. (Augustus refers to Lepidus, who "snatched" an election to the office in the confusion following upon the death of Caesar the dictator.)

From henceforth the presidency of the Pontifical College was perpetually associated with the Principate—as the position of the Chief of the State came to be called—until late in the fourth century.

Provinces divided between Augustus and the Senate.

After the first settlement of 27 B.C. there were changes in the distribution of provinces between the Princeps and the Senate. The important distinction between the two groups was that armies were stationed in the Imperial, but not in the Senatorial, with the exception of Africa. The "provinces of Caesar" fell into two classes: (*a*) those to which *legati pro praetore* who had been members of the Senate were sent, subdivided into provinces to which *consulares*, and provinces to which *praetorii* were appointed; and (*b*) those given to *praefecti* or *procuratores* of Equestrian rank.[1] Augustus reorganised the Equestrian Order, giving its members new opportunities of serving the State by creating a number of new offices—prefectures and procuratorships—some of which in course of time became far more important than the old Republican magistracies. Chief among these new offices were the prefectures of Egypt, of the City, of the Watch, of the Corn-supply, and of the Praetorium.[2] The Prefect of Egypt was a viceroy—the Roman Emperors were kings of Egypt—and no senator was ever appointed to this position or even permitted to enter the country. This precaution was taken in order to eliminate as far as possible the risk of an ambitious senator making Egypt a base of operations against the Princeps or the Principate.[3] It was from this very base, however, that Vespasian operated for the overthrow of Vitellius.

All governors of Senatorial provinces were called *proconsuls*, whether they had held the consulship or not.[4] Augustus re-enacted the *Lex Pompeia* of 52 B.C., which fixed an interval of

[1] *Legati pro praetore*: πρεσβευτὰς αὐτοῦ ἀντιστρατήγους τε ὀνομάζεσθαι, κἂν ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ὦσι, διέταξε, Dio liii. 13. 5; *Praefecti*: ἔπαρχοι; *Procuratores*: ἐπίτροποι.

[2] *Praefecturae* (*a*) *Aegypti*, (*b*) *Urbis*, (*c*) *Vigilum*, (*d*) *Annonae*, (*e*) *Praetorii*.

[3] Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 59; *Hist.* i. 11; Dio li. 17, lii. 42.

[4] Ἀνθύπατοι, Dio lii. 13, 3-4.

five years between an urban magistracy (viz. praetorship or consulship) and a provincial government, but made it apply to these provinces only. Proconsuls held their governments only for a year. *Legati pro praetore* and *procuratores* (governing minor provinces) held office during the Emperor's pleasure. Tiberius was especially given to prolonging the tenure of governors in his provinces. Thus Poppaeus Sabinus was governor of Moesia for some twenty-four years in all. Valerius Gratus was procurator of Judaea for eleven years; Pontius Pilate for ten.[1]

Procurators.

Provincial governors all received fixed salaries, and provincial land taxes were no longer collected by competing firms of *publicani*, but by agents and officials of municipalities. These were supervised, in "Caesar's Provinces," by procurators, whose power often rivalled that of the *legati pro praetore*, as may be seen in the record of Catus Decianus in Britain.[2] *Publicani*, however, still were employed to collect certain kinds of revenue.[3] On the whole, the condition of the provinces was vastly improved [4] —the spread of Caesar-worship is one of the indications of this— and of the two main groups those assigned to the Emperor's more direct and especial supervision and control were the better governed. In A.D. 15 the provincials of Achaea and Macedonia *onera deprecantes* petitioned for transference from the Senatorial or Popular to the Caesarian class of provinces, and the change was maintained until A.D. 44 [5]—nearly thirty years. In order to deal effectively with brigandage in Sardinia, it was found necessary to make the island a Caesarian province under a procurator—from A.D. 6 to 66,—and all provinces added to the

[1] Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, p. 121; Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 80. 2; Dio liii. 13; Furneaux, *Annals of Tacitus*, vol. i., Introd. p. 117 f.

[2] Arnold, *op. cit.* pp. 124-125.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 6. The "publicans" mentioned in the Gospels must have been collectors employed by Herod Antipas. They were therefore not Romans at all, and had no connection (directly, at any rate) with the Roman authorities.

[4] Tac. *Ann.* i. 2, neque provinciae illum rerum statum (the Principate) abnuebant, suspecto Senatus Populique imperio ob certamina potentium et avaritiam magistratuum.

[5] Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 76; Sueton. *Claudius*, 25; Dio Cassius lx. 24.

Empire after 27 B.C. were placed in the Caesarian class and put under the government either of *legati* or *procuratores*.

The best general description of the elaborate system of provincial government which was thus built up by Augustus, and continued for so long a time, is that of Strabo, who ends his *Geographia* with an account of the divisions of the Empire as it was in the time of Augustus. The reference in it to Ptolemy, King of Mauretania, shows that it must have been written not earlier than A.D. 23, when Ptolemy succeeded his father Juba. But Strabo quite rightly regards the settlement of Augustus as fundamental, and his account might equally well be taken, with the exception of small details, as a description of the Empire at any time during the first century; for, however much the city of Rome suffered in the time of Caligula or Nero, the Provinces were well governed, and a general continuity of policy was maintained from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius. The addition of other provinces such as Galatia or Cappadocia affected the details but not the principle of government or the character of the organisation. Strabo.

The *Monumentum Ancyranum* is of course extremely important, but it was not intended to serve the same purpose as Strabo had in mind, and is less useful to the investigator of the general constitution of the Provinces. It is therefore appropriate to finish this section by quoting in full Strabo's account:

"The Romans," he says, "possess the best and most famous portion of the inhabited earth; their empire surpassing all others whereof we have record. Beginning with a single city, Rome, they established their power over all Italy for military and political purposes. And after Italy they annexed the neighbouring countries by exercising the same valour. Of the three continents, they hold almost all Europe, saving only the region beyond the Ister (Danube) and the districts by the shore of the Ocean between the Rhine and the Tanais (Don); the whole of that coast of Libya which lies nearest to us is also theirs, the rest of that continent being desert or inhabited by rude nomads; and in like manner the sea-coast of Asia on our side is all subject to them, if we leave out of the account the straitened and savage

tracts where Achaei, Zygi, and Heniochi subsist by piracy or pasturage. Of inland and upland Asia part is Roman, part is held by the Parthians and the barbarians beyond Parthia, Indians, Bactrians, and Scythians to the north and east, also Arabs and Ethiopians, and the Romans are constantly annexing portions of these territories. The whole region subject to the Romans consists of two parts; one is governed by kings, the other, called 'the Provinces,' is administered by governors and tax-gatherers, whom the Romans send thither. There are also free cities, some of which were free when they first entered into friendship with Rome; to others the Romans themselves have given freedom by way of showing their esteem. Certain princes, tribal chieftains (*φύλαρχοι*), and priests are also subject to them. Now these people live under their respective ancestral laws.

"The division of the provinces has varied from time to time. At present it stands as it was ordered by Caesar Augustus. When the Republic (*ἡ πατρίς*) entrusted him with the supreme command (*τὴν προστασίαν τῆς ἡγεμονίας*), and he was appointed master of peace and war for life, he divided the whole territory into two, assigning one part to himself, and the other to the People. His share was all that needed a military garrison, namely, the barbarous country bordering on peoples not yet brought under authority, or rugged and sterile land, the inhabitants of which, owing to their general poverty and abundance of strongholds, are unbridled and insubordinate. To the People he gave the rest because it was peaceful and could be governed without an armed force.

"He subdivided each part into provinces, called respectively Imperial (*Καίσαρος*) and Popular (*τοῦ δήμου*). To Imperial Provinces Caesar himself sends governors and commissioners, from time to time changing their frontiers and polities as occasion demands. To the Popular Provinces the People send praetors or consuls. These provinces also are subject to changes of boundary, whenever expediency requires. Among the governments Caesar established a distinction by making two of them consular, namely, Libya, the territory subject to the Romans, but not including the part formerly ruled over by Juba, and now by his son Ptolemy; and Asia, the region lying within the Halys and Mount Taurus, but not including the Galatians and the nations subject to Amyntas, nor yet Bithynia and the Propontis. Ten provinces he put under *praetors*. In Europe and the adjacent islands, Further Spain, as it is called, which lies round the river Baetis (Guadalquivir) and the Atax; in the Celtic country the Narbonese region; Sardinia with Corsica is the third; Sicily the fourth; the fifth and sixth are Illyria, adjoining Epirus, and Macedonia; the seventh is Achaea, extending as far as Thessaly, Aetolia, Acarnania, and certain Epirote tribes assigned to Macedonia;

the eighth, Crete with Cyrene ; the ninth, Cyprus ; the tenth, Bithynia, with the Propontis and certain parts of Pontus. The remaining provinces are Caesar's. To some he sends men of consular rank to administer ; to others those who have been praetors ; to others men of the equestrian order. The kings, princes, and decarchies are, and always have been, included in his department."

The provincial concilia of the Roman Empire.

In the countries lying to the east of the Adriatic the Romans found, as in Italy, a number of political associations, each with its religious observances. The policy of the Romans was opposed to the existence of separate political unions in countries dependent on them. On the other hand, they seldom interfered with the religions of their subjects or allies if these religions neither disturbed the peace nor encouraged barbarities. Even so, they only interfered to protect the *maiestas* of the Roman People, since it was part of their political tradition to win the good-will of other nations by respecting their gods. When, therefore, the Romans dissolved a league or confederation, they preferred that league-festivals should be only temporarily abolished, and the federal sanctuaries be closed only until the political situation was assured. Thus the formation of the Roman province of Macedonia in 146 B.C. was accompanied by the dissolution of all existing confederations in Greece, but later on "the Romans," as Pausanias puts it, "took pity on Greece and restored to the several nations their ancient councils."[1] The "councils," however, were restored only so far as they were purely religious, for although the cities of Greece were left with a full measure of internal autonomy, all their relations, both within and outside Greece, were controlled by Rome.

Religious communities in Asia Minor.

In Asia Minor these self-governing religious communities in Roman times were numerous. The constituent states of the Ionic Dodecapolis, originally a political union, maintained a common cultus and temple of Poseidon upon the promontory of Mycale near Miletus. Immediately to the south of them lay

[1] Pausanias, vii. 16. 9-10.

the Dorian Pentapolis, maintaining the worship and temple of Apollo upon the Triopian headland.[1] A number of Carian village-communities maintained the house and worship of Zeus Chrysaoreus (Zeus of the Golden Sword) in a place near which arose in the Macedonian epoch the city of Stratonicea.[2] The Celtic tribes settled in Phrygia had federal magistrates and military commanders and a federal council of 300 members, which met periodically at a place called Drynemetum.[3] There, we may be certain, stood a temple, within the precinct of which the council held its sessions. In Lycia twenty-three cities entered into confederation after the abolition of the Rhodian hegemony by the Romans in 167 B.C. Coins of the confederation bear the image of Apollo Lycius, indicating that the worship of Apollo at Patara was federal.[4] The Panionic League, the Dorian Pentapolis, the Galatian and Lycian confederations all survived the establishment of Roman supremacy in Asia Minor in 133 B.C. But while the first two had for centuries been confined to religious functions, the Galatians and Lycians continued to exercise political power. The Galatian assembly at Drynemetum became extinct as a political body under Deiotarus, Tetrarch of the Tolistoboii, who about 47 B.C. made himself monarch over all the Galatian tribes.[5] The Lycians continued as a confederation in free alliance with Rome until the reign of Claudius, who annulled their liberties because of their destructive quarrels.[6] There was also in the Roman province of Asia a league of cities lying between the

[1] See Herodotus, i. 142-148; Strabo, *Geogr.* xiv. 1. 1-3 and 20. Smyrna was not reckoned as a member of the Ionian Dodecapolis by Herodotus. After its restoration by Lysimachus in 290 B.C. it was added as a thirteenth to the league on the recommendation of the Ephesians.

[2] Strabo, xiv. 2. 25.

[3] Strabo, *Geogr.* xii. 5. 1. Drynemetum (Δρυνέμετον), may possibly be a Gallo-Greek hybrid name meaning "oak-grove." See p. 182, n. 1, above.

[4] Strabo, *Geogr.* xiv. 3. 3. Cf. Head, *Historia Numismatum*, "Coins of Lycia."

[5] Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, pp. 96-101.

[6] Suetonius, *Claudius*, c. 25. "Exitiabiles discordiae" had brought the Achaean League to ruin in 146 B.C.

Hellespont and the Gulf of Adramyttium, known as the Ilian Confederation (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰλιέων). Among its gods it placed Alexander the Great, by whom it had been founded.

Emperor worship in Asia.

These associations of cities probably were the models on which the *Commune Asiae* was formed, though they were not constituents of it.[1] Dio Cassius says that (in 29 B.C.) Augustus gave permission to build and dedicate at Pergamum, the provincial capital, a temple in honour of himself and Roma.[2] A similar authority was given at the same time to the provincials of Bithynia, who desired to set up a temple in honour of the Emperor and Roma at Nicomedia.[3] Four years later the kingdom of Galatia became a Roman province, a *legatus Augusti pro praetore* taking the place of the native king.[4] The headquarters of the new province were established in the ancient Phrygian city of Ancyra, and there the κοινόν of the Galatians, consisting of deputies from the Celtic tribes and the cities of Northern Phrygia, erected a temple dedicated Θεῷ Σεβαστῷ καὶ Θεᾷ Ῥώμῃ. At what date this dedication took place is a matter of uncertainty. The temple at Pergamum was not dedicated until ten years after permission for its erection had been given.[5] It is certain, however, that the Sebasteum or Augusteum at Ancyra must have been completed by the end of Augustus's reign, for Tiberius caused a copy of his predecessor's *Index Rerum Gestarum* to be inscribed upon its walls,[6] and the inscription must have been cut in the first year of the new principate—August A.D. 14 to August A.D. 15.[7]

[1] Guiraud, *Assemblées provinciales dans l'Empire romain*, p. 63.
[2] Dio Cassius li. 20. Above, p. 193, n. 1.
[3] Dio Cassius, *loc. cit.* A κοινὸν τῶν Βιθυνῶν is presupposed.
[4] Dio Cassius liii. 26. 3.
[5] Guiraud, *Assemblées provinciales dans l'Empire romain*, pp. 25, 30.
[6] Guiraud, *op. cit.* pp. 25-26; Tac. *Ann.* i. 78.
[7] See Th. Mommsen, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, or Shuckburgh's edition of Suetonius's *Life of Augustus*, Appendix A. In addition to the Latin original, a Greek version was also engraved upon the walls of the Augusteum at Ancyra, *in usum provincialium*. This bilingual record (generally known as *Monumentum Ancyranum*) occupied a considerable space on the outer side of the walls of the Naós or *Cella*. An inscription found on the doorway begins with the words ΓΑΛΑΤΩΝ ΤΟ ΙΕΡΟΝ ΙΕΡΑCΑΜΕΝΟΝ ΘΕΩΙ CΕΒΑCΤΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΩΙ ΡΩΜΗΙ, and

The cities in the south-eastern and north-eastern districts appear to have formed separate *κοινά*,[1] but the legend of Thecla contains an indication that Antioch of Pisidia belonged to the *κοινὸν τῶν Γαλατῶν*, which built the temple and maintained the worship of Rome and the Emperor at Ancyra.[2]

Formation of *concilia*.

In the formation of *κοινά* and *concilia* for the worship of the Imperial divinities the general plan was that there should be one such organisation for each province. This rule, however, was subject to exceptions. For example, in Gaul[3] there was one *concilium* for three provinces. In some instances one province had more than one *concilium* or *κοινόν* belonging to the Imperial system. Down to the end of the second century there were two in Achaea: that of the Achaeans, and that of the "Free Laconians," who had obtained authority to form a *κοινόν* of their own, which the Empire hesitated for a long time to withdraw. The same privilege was accorded to a group of Greek cities on the western shore of the Euxine, known as the Hexapolis of Tomi, which was not merged in the *commune Moesiae Inferioris*. The cities of Lycia continued to form a *κοινόν* by themselves after their annexation to the province of Pamphylia in A.D. 43. There was a *κοινόν* of Cilicia separate from that of Syria. The cities of Eastern Pontus continued as a separate *κοινόν* after the annexation of that region to Galatia.

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calls the temple ΤΟ CEBACTHON. The *commune* of Galatia is commemorated under the title *κοινὸν Γαλατῶν* on the coins of Ancyra.

[1] Guiraud, *op. cit.* pp. 46, 60. M. Guiraud thinks it possible that the *κοινὸν Γαλατῶν* was formed upon the old league of Galatae or Gallograeci which used to assemble at Drynemetum. Probable enough, if that *κοινόν* consisted only of the Tolistoboii, Trocmi, and Tectosages. But that is uncertain. Reid, *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, p. 379, thinks the Galatian *κοινόν* was not *ethnic*.

[2] Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 390-396; *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 239.

[3] The altar of the Three Gauls was inaugurated on August 1, a day already observed by the Gallic "nations" in honour of the sun-god Lug (whose name is the basis of *Lugdunum*). See Guiraud, p. 45; Suetonius, *Claudius*, c. 2; Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. iv. pp. 238-239 (ch. xxxvi.). The territorial boundaries of the Three Gauls (probably delimited in 16 B.C.) did not correspond with the ethnic divisions of Aquitani, Celtae, and Belgae. There were large "Celtic" districts in (political) Aquitania.

Thessaly had its κοινόν distinct from that of Macedonia. Thus in a number of provinces there was more than one provincial κοινόν organised for mutual aid under the patronage and for the worship of the Imperial divinities, the Emperor and Roma.[1]

concilia in all provinces.

Dio Cassius observes that the example set by Asia and Bithynia in the fifth consulate of Octavian (29 B.C.) was followed in every province of the Empire. By the end of Augustus's principate most of the provinces of the Empire must have had *concilia* and all the appurtenances of the Imperial religion. There is clear proof of the existence of such organisations in the Tarraconensis, the Three Gauls, Thessaly, Achaea, Asia, Bithynia, Galatia, and Syria in A.D. 14.[2] It is also most probable that Baetica and the Narbonensis had their *concilia* established by that date, though there appears to be no mention of either in any inscription or any passage in the historians referring to the principate of Augustus.[3] A κοινόν of Cyprus comes to light in the time of Claudius. It may be regarded as the continuation of a Cyprian κοινόν existing in the epoch of the Ptolemies (295–58 B.C.), with the Emperor and Roma substituted for the Macedonian monarchs as objects of worship.[4] Prosecutions instituted at Rome in the principate of Nero by "Lycii," "Cilices," "Cretenses," "Cyrenenses," and "Mauri" are held to be evidence of the existence and activity of *concilia* or σύνοδοι and κοινά of Lycia, Cilicia, Crete, Cyrene, and Mauretania under that Emperor.[5] With the exception of the Mauretanian *concilium*, all might have been in existence under Augustus. The Lycian κοινόν was indeed

[1] See Guiraud, *op. cit.* pp. 51-60, especially 60. The Free Laconians were Laconians exempted by Augustus from the jurisdiction of the Spartan authorities. See Pausanias, III. xxi. 6.

[2] Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 78; Suetonius, *Claudius*, 2; Dio Cassius liv. 32 and li. 20; Mommsen, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, p. x; *Roman Provinces*, i. pp. 94 and 264 (E.T.); Guiraud, *op. cit.* pp. 56-59.

[3] Hardy, *Provincial Concilia*, in vol. i. of *Studies in Roman History*, pp. 250-251.

[4] Guiraud, *op. cit.* pp. 59 and 42; Sakellarios, *Kypriaka*, vol. i., inscriptions of pre-Roman date mentioning τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Κυπρίων.

[5] Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 30 and 33, xiv. 18 and 28; Guiraud, pp. 58-59; Hardy, *op. cit.* p. 279.

the Lycian confederation founded in 167 B.C., but deprived by Claudius of its functions as a political *σύστημα*.[1] A *concilium Britanniae* may have been in process of formation in A.D. 62, when the Iceni rose in rebellion against Roman sovereignty.[2] The prosecution of a governor of Sardinia in A.D. 58 *ob provinciam avare habitam* was probably instituted by a *concilium Sardiniae*.[3] For the service of the altar of the Emperor and Roma erected by Drusus in 10 B.C. on the left bank of the Rhine, near a town of the Ubii, a German tribe which had been permitted to settle on that side of the river, a *concilium Germaniae* must be supposed.[4]

Function of *concilia*.

The principal function of these provincial *concilia* was the due performance and maintenance of the worship of Rome and the reigning Emperor. By a natural process, the worship of the Divi Augusti, *i.e.* the deceased Emperors, was added. Octavian, however, appears to have desired that only provincials (i.e. *socii et amici*, *peregrini*) should worship Rome and the living Emperor, while Roman citizens should worship only the deceased chiefs of the Roman Commonwealth. At the time when he *permitted* the erection of temples in honour of Rome and himself at Pergamum and Nicomedia by the "Greeks" of Asia and Bithynia, he *ordered* the erection of temples in honour of Divus Julius at Ephesus and Nicaea by the Roman citizens resident in those provinces.[5]

Previous worship of rulers.

This was no new thing in the East. The Seleucidae of Syria appear to have sought reinforcement for their claims to suzerainty over the Greek cities of Asia Minor, Syria, and Mesopotamia—not a few of which they founded or enlarged—by assuming a divine character and title. With the native Asiatics they had no trouble, and the way of the Ptolemies in Egypt, so far as the

[1] Strabo, *Geogr.* xiv. 3. 3; Head, "Coins of Lycia" in *Hist. Numism.*; Sueton. *Claudius*, 25.

[2] Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 32, xiv. 31; Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, i. pp. 191-192 (E.T.); Hardy, *op. cit.* p. 250.

[3] Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 30.

[4] Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, i. p. 35 (E.T.). In A.D. 51 the *oppidum Ubiorum* was incorporated in the veteran settlement called *Colonia Agrippina*, the modern Cologne. In the same year a similar settlement was formed at *Camulodunum*, the modern Colchester. See Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 27 and 32.

[5] Dio Cassius li. 20. See p. 193, n. 1, above.

native population was concerned, was equally smooth and easy. When the power of Rome began to overshadow the Greek East, Greek city-states which felt the need of a protector, or discerned the signs of the times, found a new god. The Smyrnaeans in 195 B.C. dedicated a temple to Roma.[1] Alabanda followed their example in 170 B.C., Athens three years later.[2] The cultus performed in these temples was probably in honour of the "Fortune" (τύχη) of Rome, and we may suppose that the statues of the goddess were modelled upon the celebrated τύχη of Antioch, which was copied upon the coins of Tarsus and Iconium.[3] This "Fortune" of Rome was what the Romans themselves called "Genius," *i.e.* "the natural god of each individual thing or place or man."[4] It was a great power manifested in the victories of the Roman People. But Greek admiration of the prowess of Roman armies could express itself in a more directly personal manner. Divine honours were rendered to the proconsul Titus Quinctius Flamininus when he broke the power of Macedon in battle and proclaimed the liberation of Greece at the Isthmian Games in 196 B.C.[5] Later still, statues, *quadrigae*, and even temples were set up by the Asians in honour of Roman governors, and Cicero preens himself so much on refusing such marks of honour that one cannot doubt that they had become a provincial tradition in Cilicia. Mark Antony presented himself to the Greeks on both sides of the Aegean in 42 B.C. as an "avatar" of Dionysus.[6]

Divine honours paid to Caesar.

In the course of the last century of the old Roman Republic, the influences of the East steadily became stronger, especially

[1] Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 56.

[2] Livy xliii. 6; Reid, *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, p. 423; Hardy, *Studies in Roman History*, i. p. 244.

[3] Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, pp. 187, 238, 368, 369.

[4] Servius on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 302; cf. Horace, *Epp.* ii. 2. 187-189. Note the Greek rendering of the formula used by the proconsul of Asia in examining Polycarp, δμοσον τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην: Eusebius, *H.E.* iv. 15. *Mart. Polyc.* ix., x.

[5] Plutarch, *Flamininus*, c. 16.

[6] Cicero, *ad Atticum*, v. 21. 7; *ad Quintum fratrem*, i. 1. 9; Sueton. *Augustus*, 52, and Shuckburgh's note. Plutarch, *Antonius*, 24; Ferrero, *Grandeur et décadence de Rome*, vol. iv. p. 51.

among those classes to whom Cicero refers as "misera et ieiuna plebecula." Caesar's victories may justly be said to have exalted him to heaven, and this apotheosis was no private affair, but the act of the Senate and People.[1] His statue, even while he was yet alive, was set up in the temple of Quirinus with that of the god. To Cicero and all such as were like-minded with him, Caesar "συνναός Quirino" was highly displeasing, but the People loved to have it so. The public worship of Caesar, however, was instituted for Romans only, and Caesar was not proclaimed "Divus" by a formal vote of the Senate until after his death. Throughout the history of "Caesar-worship" only deceased Emperors are "Divi," and only such as had "heaven decreed to them" by the Senate, which by withholding the formal *relatio inter deos* of a departed Emperor could declare his acts to be null, and so relieve his successor from obligation to maintain or execute them. Augustus secured for Caesar a place among the gods of Rome along with Jupiter and Quirinus, and gave orders to the Romans resident in Asia and Bithynia for the erection of temples to "the Divine Julius" at Ephesus and Nicaea, but would not accept divine honours from the provincials for himself save as the associate or assessor of the goddess Roma, and refused them altogether in Rome and Italy.[2] This refusal was dictated by his determination to preserve not only Rome, but Italy (which since 90 B.C. was all Roman) in the Imperial position in which he found them. If he was to be worshipped as a god by Romans, he would be deified in the Roman way, after death and by decree of the Senate. The great household of the Republic, of which he was not only *Princeps* but *Pater*,[3] should worship him after the manner in which every *familia* worshipped its *Di Manes*. Rome and Italy, however, appear to have thought Augustus's refusal of divine honours "in his own country and in his own house" a law to be honoured in the breach rather than in the

[1] See Smith's *Dict. Antiq.* s.v. "Apotheosis."

[2] Dio 51. 20; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 52.

[3] Horace, *Carm.* i. 2. 50, hic ames dici Pater atque Princeps. So Augustus was formally entitled *Pater Patriae* in 2 B.C.; *Mon. Ancy.* c. 35.

observance. In the municipalities private or municipal devotion raised *sacella* in his honour whilst he yet lived,[1] and in Rome itself his *Genius* was associated with the *Lares Compitales* or gods of the "parishes."[2] It might be said that he himself had given encouragement to these forms of apotheosis by accepting the title of Augustus (January 16, 27 B.C.).[3] But, with the exception of Tiberius, no other Emperor received divine honours *in his lifetime* in Rome or Italy,[4] and in some instances the Senate withheld the formal *relatio inter deos*.[5]

Worship of deceased Emperors.

It is not certain whether the cultus of deceased Emperors was joined to that of the reigning Emperors in the practice of all the provincial *concilia*. There is evidence to show that it was so in the Spanish provinces and in Sardinia.[6] A priest of the *Templum Divi Augusti* is mentioned in an inscription found at Narbonne, and a "chief priest of the Augustus and his divine ancestors" (*ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τῶν θείων προγόνων αὐτοῦ*) in an inscription found on the site of Sparta.[7] But the worship of the departed princes maintained at Narbonne and Sparta was probably a municipal cultus, separate from and independent of the cultus maintained by the *concilia* of the Narbonensis and Achaea. Among Egyptians, Syrians, Anatolians, Greeks, and the nations of the Empire generally, the worship of departed

[1] Hardy, *op. cit.* pp. 241 and 244, n. 50.

[2] Augustus divided Rome into 14 *regions* and 265 *vici*. The *lares* or guardian spirits of each *vicus* had their chapel (*aedicula*) at a *compitum* (street-crossing). See Shuckburgh on Sueton. *Aug.* 30.

[3] Dio Cassius liii. 16, *Αὔγουστος ὡς καὶ πλεῖόν τι ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὢν ἐπεκλήθη. πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐντιμότατα καὶ τὰ ἱερώτατα αὔγουστα προσαγορεύεται.* Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 609 f.:

> *Sancta* vocant *augusta* patres; *augusta* vocantur
> Templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu.
> Huius et *augurium* dependet origine verbi,
> Et quodcumque sua Iuppiter *auget* ope.

[4] Rushforth, *Latin Historical Inscriptions*, p. 56.

[5] See Guiraud, *op. cit.* pp. 28-29. This withholding of *relatio inter deos* was known as *damnatio memoriae*, and carried with it the annulment of the dead man's public acts.

[6] See Hardy, *op. cit.* p. 245, n. 51.

[7] Hardy, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*; Guiraud, p. 32, n. 4.

princes and mighty men was still practised.[1] But the proper objects of the worship offered by the provincial *concilia* were Rome and the reigning Emperor, for it was in honour of Rome and the *living* Imperator Caesar that the provincial *caerimoniae* of Asia and Bithynia, which set the example to the rest of the subject-countries, were originally and expressly instituted. The cultus of deceased Emperors *might* be joined with the provincial cultus of the living Emperor. But it was not an essential part of the provincial cultus. Again, a cultus of the first Augustus might be instituted in this or that city while he yet lived and continued after his death. But that would be an affair quite distinct from any cultus of his successors, whether in their lifetime or after their death. At the same time, a community which had once organised the cultus of a living Emperor might find itself visited with severity if it neglected him after his death.[2] In the *caerimoniae* of the provincial *concilia*, the offering of sacrifice to Rome and the reigning Emperor, M. Guiraud finds "not religion, but rather homage done to the Roman State and its Head."[3] They were forms borrowed or conveyed from religion for the purpose of expressing loyalty.

Constitution of the *Concilia.*

The provincial *concilia* consisted in each case of deputies (legati, *σύνεδροι*, *κοινόβουλοι*) from the *civitates* of the province. These deputies were chosen, in the Western provinces, by the *decuriones*, city-councillors, of *municipia* and *coloniae*, or by the councils of *civitates*, which were cantonal rather than municipal

[1] For example, the tomb of Antiochus of Commagene, who died in 34 B.C., was also a temple, at which offerings were to be made to his ghost. See Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, ii. p. 125 (E.T.), and compare Holm, *Hist. of Greece*, iv. p. 573. Sparta worshipped Agamemnon, Menelaus and Helen, and Lycurgus; Pausanias iii. 19. 9, 16. 5, 15. 3. Alexandria venerated her founder and his successors of the House of Lagus (see Strabo xvii. 1. 8 and Dio Cassius li. 16). Strabo mentions a *Caesareum* (i.e. a *templum Divi Iulii*) as one of the chief buildings of Alexandria (xvii. 1. 9). Athens maintained the worship of Theseus; Pausanias i. 17. 2.

[2] Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 26, obiecta publice Cyzicenis incuria caerimoniarum Divi Augusti, additis violentiae criminibus adversus cives Romanos, et amisere libertatem. Cf. Dio lvii. 24. "Publice" may mean that the charge was brought against Cyzicus by the *commune Asiae*.

[3] Guiraud, *op. cit.* pp. 32-33.

communities. In the Eastern provinces they were chosen either by the city-councillors (*βουλευταί*) or by the citizen-assemblies (*ἐκκλησίαι*).[1] There is evidence showing that a *civitas* or *πόλις* might send more than one deputy,[2] and it is possible that some endeavour was made to have the constituent communities represented in proportion to population.

Office of *flamen*.

The priest of the provincial altar or temple of Rome and the Emperor was president in the assembly of the *legati* or *σύνεδροι* of the cities in each province. On monuments of the Imperial religion set up in the Western provinces this functionary is mentioned under the title of *sacerdos* or *flamen*.[3] On those which were set up in the Eastern provinces he is generally described as *ἀρχιερεύς*. He was elected by the *legati* or *σύνεδροι*, who constituted the provincial council. From a passage in one of the orations of Aristides, a sophist of the Antonine epoch, it appears that in Asia the *συνέδριον* drew up a list of "papabili," from which the final choice was made by the proconsul.[4] There is nothing to show or suggest that any such procedure existed elsewhere among the provinces. Elections were apt to be tumultuous affairs, at any rate where they were decided by a popular vote, for the office of *flamen provinciae* was one of great honour. The holder for the time being was the chief personage among the provincials,[5] and those who had held it—

[1] The city-councils (sometimes called senates) in Roman municipalities were considerably smaller than those of the Greek *πόλεις*, in proportion, at any rate, to the number of townsfolk, and their magistrates less numerous than the Greek *ἄρχοντες*.

[2] Aristides speaks of Smyrna sending *synedri* to the *κοινόν* of Asia. The Thorigny inscription bears record that the *civitas Viducassium* elected and sent to the *concilium III. Galliarum* one T. Sennius Solemnis as deputy *inter ceteros*. See Hardy, *op. cit.* p. 253. Guiraud, *op. cit.* pp. 64-65. There is no evidence, however, to show that the same practice was observed in all the provinces.

[3] See Hardy, *op. cit.* p. 257.

[4] A similar procedure was instituted under the Ottoman régime for the election of patriarchs in the Greek Church.

[5] Preference was given to men who had held the chief offices in their severa municipalities. The statement that a *flamen* or *sacerdos* had held such offices occurs frequently on inscriptions (*omnibus honoribus in patria sua functo*). *Πρῶτος τῆς ἐπαρχείας* has been found as a title or description of a provincial high priest in Asia and in the Narbonensis. See Hardy, *op. cit.* p. 258.

flaminales viri, as they were called in the West—formed the highest stratum of provincial society. The prestige and importance of the office is shown by the fact that in Asia, if not elsewhere, the provincial high priest was an eponymous official, by reference to whom events were dated.[1]

If to be high priest to Roma and the Emperor was an honourable office, it was no less an onerous one, especially in the Eastern provinces. The high priest of the Imperial gods was called upon to find the expenses of the *ludi* (ἀγῶνες) which were celebrated at the time of the assembly of the *legati* (σύνεδροι) under his presidency. The variety and magnificence of these exhibitions would naturally be much greater in such provinces as Syria, Asia, Africa, and the Three Gauls than in Macedonia, Achaea, Crete, or Pannonia. There were chariot-races—more to the public taste in the East than gladiator-combats,—wrestling matches, foot-races, and contests of musicians and orators.[2] The provision of *spectacula* in Rome was notoriously an expensive affair. In the provinces it was probably not much less a drain upon individual fortunes, and the requirement of wealth for the high priesthood of the province in course of time tended to make the office hereditary.

High priests of Asia.

The high priest might be chosen from the burgess-roll of any *civitas* from which deputies were sent to the *concilium*. Thus the succession of "high priests of Asia," so far as it has been recovered, includes the names, not only of citizens of Pergamum, Ephesus, Smyrna, and other cities where the *concilium* assembled, but also of men from cities where the temples and worship of the Imperial gods were purely municipal.

[1] See two inscriptions quoted by Hardy, *op. cit.* pp. 257-258: (*a*) ἔδοξεν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἕλλησιν ἐν κοινῷ, Κλαυδίου Λούππου ἀρχιερέως τῆς Ἀσίας: (*b*) ἔδοξεν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἕλλησιν, Τιβ. Κλαυδίου Ἡρώδου ἀρχιερέως θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ θεοῦ Καίσαρος. Note that the members of the κοινόν or συνέδριον are called Ἕλληνες and that they are said to be "over" the province.

[2] Polycarp was burnt in the *stadium* at Smyrna (*Mart. Polyc.* in Eusebius, *H.E.* iv. 15). Thecla was condemned to be torn in pieces by a lioness in the *stadium* at Pisidian Antioch. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 400-401 These martyrdoms were enacted at provincial *ludi*.

The "high priests of Asia," whose names have been preserved, came from thirty different cities of the province.[1] In the Eastern provinces the pomp and circumstance of the high priesthood of Roma and the Emperor appear to have been much greater than in the West, and the high priests bore grandiloquent titles. Thus the high priest of the Galatians assumed the title of "Galatarch" (Galatarcha, Γαλατάρχης). Analogous titles were borne by the several high priests of Bithynia, Asia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Cilicia, Syria, Phoenicia, Pontus, and Achaea.[2]

Meetings of *concilia*.

The *concilia* met annually, but not at the same date in every province. For the Three Gauls, the date of the annual assembly was August 1, a day which had been observed from time immemorial by the Gallic tribes and clans in honour of the sun-god. The assembly of the *concilium Asiae* was held at the end of winter or the beginning of spring. The annual period is inferred from a variety of *data*, the most important of which, perhaps, are the records of prosecutions instituted by various provinces against governors who had abused their powers.[3] Sixteen such prosecutions are known to have been instituted in the course of the century following the death of Augustus, *i.e.* A.D. 14–114. Such proceedings could only have been undertaken by an association meeting in congress at least once in every year, and the prosecutors who appeared in Rome were in each case *legati* of the province concerned, *i.e.* deputies of *civitates* of that province and members of its *concilium*. Provincial *legati* also used to appear in Rome for the purpose of testifying to a governor's admirable qualities

[1] The larger πόλεις and *civitates*, however, would stand at an advantage over the smaller in this respect, inasmuch as their men of wealth would be more numerous. See Hardy, *op. cit.* p. 260.

[2] Hardy, *op. cit.* p. 261; Guiraud, *op. cit.* pp. 97-99. The identity of the provincial "ruler" (Asiarch, Galatarch, Pontarch, etc.) with the provincial high priest is shown by (1) the *Martyrium Polycarpi*, which calls Philip of Tralles "high priest" (sc. of Asia) in one place and "Asiarch" in another; (2) Modestinus in the Digest, xxvii. 1. 6: ἔθνους ἱεραρχία, οἷον Ἀσιαρχία, Βιθυναρχία, Καππαδοκαρχία, παρέχει ἀλειτουργησίαν ἀπὸ ἐπιτροπῶν (exemption from undertaking guardianship); (3) a reference in a law of Constantine, A.D. 336, to persons *quos in civitatibus sacerdotii id est Phoenicarchiae vel Syriarchiae ornamenta condecorant.*

[3] Hardy, *Studies in Roman History*, i. pp. 254-255.

of heart and head. Now in the *Provinciae Populi* the governors usually held their positions for a year only. The legation brought a copy of a conciliar decree declaring the noble acts of the governor, and ordering that the memory thereof should be preserved by means of an enduring monument, such as a slab of white marble, engraved with the text of the decree and set up in the provincial Augusteum.[1] Whether forwarded to Rome by a legation or not, such decrees in honour of officials whose sojourn in the province did not last longer than a year could not very well be carried by a council meeting at longer intervals.

Temples of Rome and Augustus.

In the greater number of cases the provincial temple of Roma and Augustus stood in the city which was the provincial capital, but there were some in which it was built elsewhere. Wherever that sanctuary stood, there was the meeting-place of the *concilium* or *συνέδριον*. Thus, for example, the *κοινόν* of Cilicia assembled at Tarsus, the *κοινόν* of the Galatians at Ancyra, the *concilium Africae* at Carthage, that of the Tarraconensis at Tarraco. The *concilium III. Galliarum* did not, strictly speaking, assemble at Lugdunum, but in a sacred precinct at the very confluence of the Saône and Rhone and between the two streams. The *κοινόν* of Achaea assembled, not at Corinth, but at Argos. In Asia the *κοινόν* or *συνέδριον τῆς* Ἀσίας was convened at first in the precinct of the Temple of the Emperor and Roma at Pergamum. But in course of time other cities of the province also obtained authority to erect Augustea, and after the principate of Augustus that city ceased to be the only one within whose coasts the *concilium Asiae* could assemble and the provincial *ἀγῶνες* be held. In the latter part of the first century there were five or six cities, in addition to Pergamum, in which the *concilium* from time to time assembled. This multiplication of assembly-places in Asia was allowed by the Emperors in order to appease the rivalries of the Asian municipalities.[2]

[1] Hardy, *op. cit.* pp. 275-276.

[2] See Hardy, *op. cit.* p. 256; Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches*, pp. 289-290. The provincial *ἀγῶνες* were held at Smyrna in A.D. 155; see the *Martyrium Polycarpi*. It is not certain that the provincial assembly met in

The Asiarchate.

The title of Ἀσιάρχης, *Asiarcha*, is especially interesting, as it occurs in Acts xix. 31. A passage in Strabo indicates that it was known in Asia in the time of Pompey, and that it then denoted one who was a provincial notable or magnate. The city of Tralles, so the geographer informs us, was remarkable for the number of wealthy men who dwelt there, some of whom were at all times to be found among the magnates of the province (*οἱ πρωτεύοντες κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν*). These were known as *Asiarchs*. Conspicuous among them in former times had been one Pythodorus, a native of Nysa, a town not very far distant from Tralles. Pythodorus had migrated to Tralles in order to identify himself with an illustrious community, and had become famous through his friendship with Pompey. His daughter Pythodoris was Queen of Pontus in Strabo's day.[1]

Under the Principate, the chief priest of the temple inaugurated at Pergamum in 19 B.C. was at first the only *ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας*, but the passage just cited from Strabo shows that he was not the only Ἀσιάρχης, though doubtless he was *ὁ* Ἀσιάρχης, Asiarch *par excellence*. It is not likely that any one would have been recognised as an Asiarch, unless in addition to being wealthy he had held all or most of the offices of importance in his native city, and these were the qualifications required of one who was to hold the office of "high priest of Asia." These high priests, then, would be "Asiarchs" before they were appointed, and naturally continued to be known as "Asiarchs" after they had retired from their sacerdotal office. It is possible that in course

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the leading cities according to a *rota*, for there is numismatic evidence to show that it met at Pergamum both in A.D. 97 and in the year following. Apparently there was some order of precedence among the cities. At any rate, Magnesia (*ad Sipylum*) did not claim to be higher than seventh. On the other hand, Pergamum's claim to stand first was vigorously disputed by Ephesus and Smyrna. The Ephesians, indeed, claimed to be *μόνοι πρῶτοι Ἀσίας*. See the descriptions of coins of Pergamum, Ephesus, Smyrna, etc., in Head's *Historia Numismatum*. In the course of the first century the places where the *concilium Asiae* might be held came to include Ephesus, Sardis, Smyrna, Laodicea, Philadelphia, and Cyzicus. Compare the seven cities of Apoc. i.-iii.

[1] See Guiraud, *op. cit.* pp. 105-106; Strabo, *Geogr.* xiv. 1. 42.

of time the title " Asiarch " became so closely associated with that of " high priest "—in any case the Asiarchate of the high priest would quite outshine that of other principal notables or grandees—that only those who had " passed the chair " of the high priesthood were allowed to style themselves " Asiarchs." [1] But it is doubtful whether this usage had become established so early as the principate of Nero, who was Emperor when the silversmiths' riot disturbed the peace of Ephesus.

In consequence of the rivalry of the leading cities of Asia, the Emperor authorised not only the erection of temples of *Roma et Augustus*, but also the assembly of the *concilium Asiae*, at other cities besides Pergamum. The priests of these other temples were appointed by the *concilium*, and it was not necessary that they should be natives of the cities to which they were appointed, like the " high priest of Asia," only for a year. They were also styled " high priests " (*ἀρχιερεῖς*) and even " Asiarchs." Moreover, inscriptions mention a " high priest of the *temples* which are in Smyrna," a " high priest of the *temples* which are in Ephesus," and a " high priest of the *temples* which are in Pergamum." The mention of *temples* in the plural must be understood to refer either to the first, second, and third *neokoreia* [2] or " caretakership " claimed by those cities, or to temples such as the one Smyrna erected and dedicated in honour of Tiberius, Livia, and the Senate, in addition to that of Roma and Augustus, in the latter years of Tiberius's principate.[3] The relation of the " high priest of the temples which are in Pergamum " to the " high priest of Asia " is obscure. The high priesthood of Asia may have become detached from exclusive connection with the temple and altar at Pergamum, being expanded into a general supervision of temples, altars, priests, rites, and all the *apparatus* of the Imperial cult in the province—in short, an Asian *pontificatus maximus* or *summus episcopatus*. It is noteworthy that monuments in Asia were dated with

[1] Guiraud, *op. cit.* p. 106.

[2] See Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, ii. 84, 91.

[3] See Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 15, 55, 56; Hardy, *op. cit.* pp. 262-263.

reference to "high priests," never with reference to "Asiarchs." This can only be accounted for on the supposition—which on other grounds is well warranted—that the high priesthood was held only for a year, while the *ἀσιαρχία* was a permanent *status*, not an office.

The *concilia* and provincial government.

The prosecution of provincial governors who practised extortion or otherwise oppressed the subject population became an important function of the *communia*. Litigation was expensive, and the communal *arca* (treasury) of the province contained larger resources to draw upon than would have been available for most of the individuals and many of the communities which from time to time were the victims of abuse of authority on the part of proconsuls, legates, or procurators. By the time of Nero's principate, the provincials were even becoming formidable to their governors. Honorific decrees passed in favour of the "lords of the world" by provincial councils became desirable. They might be aids to promotion, and governors so generally canvassed and intrigued for them that the practice had to be checked as detrimental to the prestige of the Roman name.[1]

The Emperors made use of the *concilia* in the government of the provinces. Imperial rescripts dealing with various matters of public concern, such as infanticide, cattle-stealing, or the granting of freedom from taxation to certain professions or occupations, are known to have been addressed to these bodies.[2] Nevertheless, the *concilia* did not obtain legal recognition as administrative authorities. The "encyclical" sent out by the Senate in A.D. 238, calling the Empire to arms in support of the Gordians against Maximin, contains an exhaustive list of the organs of government, but the *concilia* are not mentioned among them.[3]

[1] Hardy, *op. cit.* pp. 271-282; Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 15, xiii. 33, xv. 20-22.

[2] Hardy, *op. cit.* pp. 271-272.

[3] Iulius Capitolinus, *Maximinus*, 15: S.P.Q.R. per Gordianos principes a tristissimis bellis liberari coeptus, proconsulibus praesidibus legatis ducibus tribunis magistratibus ac singulis civitatibus et municipiis et oppidis et vicis et castellis salutem, quam nunc primum recipere coepit, dicit.

Status of *concilia*.

The real status of the provincial *concilia* appears to have been the same as that of the *collegia* and *sodalitates*, which were licensed and regulated by the State, but were not, strictly speaking, "public bodies." At any rate they were not recognised organs or agents of the sovereign authority of the Roman Commonwealth. The term κοινόν, used in the Eastern provinces to denote a provincial council, was also in common use as a name for private associations, *e.g.* τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λαμπαδιστῶν τῶν ἐν Πάτμῳ, and the Latin word *concilium* might be employed to denote a private as well as a public corporation. Like the multitude of small κοινά, θίασοι, *collegia*, *sodalitates*, the provincial *concilia* consisted of official and unofficial members, maintained their several funds, worshipped Roma and the Emperor, and celebrated festivals. The difference lay in the scale of the functions exercised, and further, in the fact that the provincial *concilia* might enter into direct relations with the Senate or the Emperor.[1]

Inscriptions.

Inscriptions and coins supply *data* for the history of the *concilia* down to the end of the reign of Gallienus, A.D. 268. For the next fifty years or so there is no mention made of them.[2] They were not destroyed by the triumph of Christianity over paganism, but the character of their periodical festivals was changed in that they ceased to be religious observances, the cultus of Roma and the Emperor having come to an end. Gladiator-combats, however, and chariot-races, wrestling-matches, *ludi scenici*, and *venationes* were still kept up, as long, at any rate, as money was available to provide such spectacles. The Church did not demand their abolition, though it condemned their being celebrated on Sundays and other great days in the ecclesiastical calendar.[3]

Importance of *concilia* to historians.

Such was the general organisation of the Roman world into which Christianity began to penetrate so soon as it ceased to be exclusively Jewish. To the student of Christian

[1] See Guiraud, *op. cit.* pp. 113-119; Hardy, p. 266. The Λαμπαδισταί mentioned in the quotation were probably an association maintaining religious observances, in which a torch-race (λαμπαδηφορία) was the distinctive feature.

[2] Guiraud, *op. cit.* pp. 219, 221. [3] Guiraud, *op. cit.* pp. 245-246.

origins it is important to understand generally the growth of the provinces, the outline of their administration, and the nature of the *concilia*, which, without being identical with the provincial government, were closely connected with it, and especially were responsible for the regulation of the cult of the Emperor and of Roma. The persecution or toleration of Christians depended on the attitude of *concilia* and governors alike, and before persecution could be severe it required active hostility from both.

The system thus established by Augustus remained without radical change until the time of Diocletian. The most important movements of that period (A.D. 14–284) may be summarised as follows. The number of provincial governments was increased, partly by the substitution of legates or procurators for client-princes, partly by new conquests, partly by division of old provinces. There was also an increase in the number of communities organised on the Roman municipal pattern. Free cities adopted Roman municipal institutions; *coloniae civium Romanorum* were formed out of legionary camps or settlements of veterans. The distinction between Romans and provincials was abolished by Caracalla's celebrated edict of A.D. 212, which made Romans of practically the whole of the free population of the Empire. Caracalla's object, however, was merely fiscal; he was bent upon increasing the number of those who paid the succession-duty known as *vicensima haereditatium*. Over against the increase in the number of Roman or Romanised municipalities must be set the increase of their dependence upon the Imperial Government.[1] The position of Italy gradually changed until it became identical with that of the provinces. This change indeed was foreshadowed in 23 B.C. by the introduction of *proconsulare imperium* within the *pomerium*.[2] Septimius Severus stationed a legion at Albanum. Diocletian repealed the exemption from land-tax which Romans in Italy had enjoyed since 167 B.C.[3]

[1] Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, p. 222. [2] Dio. 53. 32. 5.
[3] Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, pp. 169-170, 189-190.

II

LIFE IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA

By Clifford H. Moore

Unity of the ancient world begun by the Macedonians.

The civilised world in the first century was politically and intellectually a unit; but this unity was the result of a long and important development. In the fourth century B.C. the countries about the Mediterranean had no common language, habit of thought, or form of government. Although the Greeks had established themselves on the western coast of Asia Minor at an early date, and, since the eighth century, had sent colonies to South Italy, Sicily, Southern Gaul, Northern Africa, and even to the shores of the Black Sea, they had not yet succeeded in making their language a common medium of communication among the peoples included in the Mediterranean basin; nor had they impressed their intellectual habits on them. The whole area was split up into a number of states without common aims or interests. Yet the fourth century saw in Greece a power which was to begin the process of unification. Philip of Macedon (359–336 B.C.) seems to have been the first Western ruler to conceive adequately the notion of a great empire; and ten years before Philip's death the aged Isocrates, with an imperial vision which none of his fellow-countrymen ever displayed, urged Philip to make himself leader and champion of Greece against the Great King, that he might destroy the Persian power, or at least annex all Asia Minor, in which the surplus population

of Greece might find an outlet. When in 336 B.C. the assassin's dagger cut short Philip's triumphant progress, he was succeeded by his son Alexander, whose accomplishments were destined to be greater than his father's dreams. Before the Greeks could mature their plans to rid themselves of the Macedonian domination, Alexander had reconciled or overawed the several states and been elected supreme general of Hellas against Persia. A campaign in Thrace and a revolt in Greece proper detained him until the spring of 334 B.C., when he crossed into Asia Minor. It is needless to follow the details of his conquests: how in the next ten years he conquered all the lands, including Egypt, bordering on the eastern Mediterranean, and carried his victorious arms through modern Persia and Turkestan, across the Himalayas by the Khyber Pass into the Punjab, from whence he descended the Indus river, and returned overland through Baluchistan and Persia to Babylon, where he died in 323 B.C. Thus Alexander showed the possibility of a great political empire, in which the distinction between Greek and barbarian was to be broken down; the Greek was not to dominate the Oriental or the Oriental the Greek, but each was to have his place in a cosmopolitan state. Indeed Alexander had begun to effect a fusion of West and East. His death cut short its full realisation, but nevertheless the Greek colonies which he had planted opened up new worlds for trade, and spread the Greek tongue so widely that, although most of his colonists ultimately were absorbed by the surrounding peoples, the language survived and became a *lingua franca* over at least the western half of the territories subdued by him. Although his political empire was divided immediately after his death into separate kingdoms, the Diadochi still fostered Hellenism: their capitals were centres of Greek culture, and they prided themselves on their Hellenic inheritance.

Alexandria the intellectual centre of Hellenism: the Jewish element.

During the last three centuries before our era, the centre of the Greek intellectual world was Alexandria in Egypt. Here East and West met. The Greeks had long been in Egypt, and the older groups of Jews now received large accessions. The

Hellenising of the Jews advanced rapidly, and before the close of the third century B.C. a translation of the Pentateuch had been made into Greek for the use of the Jews of the Diaspora, who had forgotten their ancient tongue; in Palestine itself the Greek language, and even Greek customs, won their way, at least by the second century B.C. The revolt under the Maccabees had important religious results, but it did little to stay the spread of Greek civilisation. If so conservative a people as the Jews could not resist the advance of Hellenism, we can well understand its conquests over less tenacious peoples. With the Greek language went Greek ideas and habits of thought, and during the three centuries preceding our era an intellectual unity was gradually established throughout the lands bordering on the eastern half of the Mediterranean as far as the Euphrates. In many places still farther east the Greek language was at least understood and Greek ideas were not unfamiliar.

Rise of Rome as a world power.

After 300 B.C. a new power rose in the West, which rapidly extended its conquests to the whole Mediterranean area. By 270 B.C. Rome had subdued all the Italian peninsula south of the Arno and the Rubicon. At the end of the third century she had twice defeated Carthage, and had taken as provinces Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, and much of Spain. She next turned to Greece and the East. When the Emperor Augustus died in A.D. 14, Rome was virtually mistress of all the lands bordering on the Mediterranean, which had literally become a Roman lake. The western and northern boundaries of the Empire were the Atlantic Ocean, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Black Sea; on the east lay the Parthian Empire, separated from that of Rome by Armenia, the Euphrates, and the deserts of Arabia; and on the south in Africa the Sahara formed a natural frontier. Within these limits many peoples and nations had been welded into a single empire by the political genius of the Romans, whose work was so well done that, from the time of Augustus, Italy and the provinces remained, with trifling exceptions, well governed and contented for more than two centuries, in spite of the con-

dition of the capital under such emperors as Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and Commodus.

Latin language diffused by Romans.

Just as the Greek language and civilisation had spread over the eastern half of the Mediterranean area, so in the West the consequence of political conquest was the establishment of the Latin tongue; but in the East it made no great headway against Greek. The result was that, although local languages and dialects long persisted among the lower classes and in the remoter districts, Latin and Greek were the two languages of the Roman Empire; moreover, cultivated Romans wrote and spoke Greek with facility, so that from one end of the Empire to the other Greek was a common medium for polite and learned society. Thus the Empire was unified in speech as well as in government.

Influence of Greeks on Romans.

But this was not all. Rome from an early period was influenced by Greek thought and institutions, first through the Greek colonies in South Italy and in Sicily, later from Greece herself. The Romans generally recognised that their civilisation was inferior to that of the Greeks, and were ready to learn. From the Greeks they received their alphabet, their weights and measures, and certain political institutions; but Greek influence was even greater in the fields of art, literature, religion, and philosophy.

Tradition says that Greeks were found in Latium before the founding of Rome, and there is no doubt that Greek traders penetrated central Italy at least as early as the seventh century B.C. With them they brought their gods, who were freely received, and sometimes so completely adopted that they passed for Italian divinities: thus Hercules was established at Tibur; and the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, at Tusculum, whence they came to Rome. In Etruria the Greek Zeus, Hera, and Athena were identified with an Etruscan triad, which was established in Rome on the Capitoline Hill by the Etruscan Tarquins, under the Italian names of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. In the course of the next three and a half centuries the Romans' contact with the Greeks led them to recognise more of their gods, some of the

most important being brought in at the direction of the Sibylline books—that collection of oracles which tradition said had been purchased by one of the later Tarquins. These divinities were Apollo, Hermes (Mercury), the triad Demeter, Dionysus, and Kore (Ceres, Liber, and Libera), Poseidon (Neptune), Asclepios (Aesculapius), Pluto and Persephone (Dispater and Proserpina), and Aphrodite (Flora), and doubtless many others. In fact, by the second Punic War (219–202 B.C.) most of the chief gods of Greece were domiciled at Rome, generally under Roman or Italian names, their very images being modelled on those by famous Greek artists. Subsequent conquests brought vast numbers of works of art to the West, which not only helped to educate the artistic sense of the Romans, but also aided in establishing the Greek concepts of the gods in the Roman mind. The result was that as early as the end of the third century B.C. the old Roman-Italian religion, which was practical and exact, well suited to a small and unimaginative community, was so overlaid by Greek ideas and blended with them that much of its original character and content was obscured for the Romans themselves.

Roman literature derived from Greece.

Nor was Greek influence confined to religion; eventually it covered every field of the intellectual life of Rome. At the fall of Tarentum in 272 B.C. a young Greek captive was brought to Rome and employed by his master to teach his children. When set free he continued his profession under the name of Livius Andronicus. Since, however, there was no Latin literature available for purposes of instruction, he translated the *Odyssey* into rude native verse, the Saturnian measure, and thus became the founder of Latin epic poetry. In 240 B.C. he introduced dramatic poetry to Rome by putting on the stage a tragedy and a comedy adapted from the Greek. A generation later Naevius wrote an epic on the Punic War, and before another had passed Ennius had adopted the Greek hexameter for his *Annales*, a poetic history of Rome. From that time to the close of antiquity every epic poet drew his form, his imagery, and many of his incidents from the Greek epics.

The drama, which tradition said was started by Andronicus, was cultivated by many. Although only plays by Plautus and Terence have been preserved to us in their entirety, we know that numerous tragedies and comedies produced before the middle of the second century B.C. had served to familiarise the Romans with Greek ideas of dramatic art and with the social aspects of Greek life.

The glorious outcome of the Second Punic War prompted the Romans to begin the writing of history; but inasmuch as the only prose which had been developed for historical purposes was Greek, Roman history was for about half a century composed exclusively in that language. Cato the Censor then set the fashion of using Latin, but the form of history still continued to be modelled on the Greek. Soon after the middle of the same century oratory began to be moulded after Greek exemplars. In fact, in every major form of literature, the influence of the Greek on Roman literature is apparent. Moreover, Greek myths and legends were adapted to Roman conditions; genealogies were invented and incidents narrated in Greek fashion, so that Latin literature became Greek not only in form but also in content.

Greek influence on the Roman educational system.

The captured Greeks took their captors captive by becoming their schoolmasters. During the third and second centuries before our era, the older education was supplemented by a study of Greek language and literature, taught since the time of the Second Punic War in well-to-do families by private teachers. Before the middle of the second century schools were established in which a considerable number of pupils were taught together, and at its close Greek rhetoricians had begun to give formal instruction. The study of literature, and especially of rhetoric, served to make Greek habits of thought and forms of expression universal in the West as well as in the East.

Influence of Greek philosophy in Rome.

Greek philosophy made itself felt in Rome soon after the close of the Second Punic War, when Epicureanism, Stoicism, the teachings of the later Academy, and later Aristotelianism all found their adherents.

(*a*) Stoicism (Panaetius).

The most important philosophical teacher of the second century was Panaetius of Rhodes, who may properly be considered the founder of Roman Stoicism. His chief disciples among the Roman aristocracy were Laelius and the younger Scipio, who formed the centre of the Scipionic Circle, which in its day did much to extend Hellenising influences. Panaetius modified the severe and uncompromising doctrines of antiquity and accommodated the teaching of Stoicism to that of other schools, being especially influenced by the Academics and the Peripatetics. Although he could not wholly abandon the Stoic paradox that the *sapiens* can never err, he contented himself with preparing his disciples for the ordinary demands of life without insisting solely on the ideal of the "wise man." He laid much emphasis on the gradual advance in virtue as contrasted with the older doctrine of the sudden acquisition of perfection. Indeed, he held that steady progress through the honourable practice of daily duties was all that could be reasonably required of his disciples. He even allowed the pursuit of external advantages so long as they did not interfere with that of virtue.

Panaetius, in fact, had been greatly influenced by Aristotle's doctrine that virtue is a mean between two vices, that is, between two extremes. Of course such doctrine was in direct opposition to the older Stoics; and for their ideal of Wisdom Panaetius substituted Soberness or Balance. He did not hold with Aristotle that the highest life was one of contemplation. On the contrary, he encouraged the practice of the active social virtues of his age. In this he prepared the way for the sadder days of the Empire, which demanded the tonic of a practical philosophy.

The common-sense attitude of Panaetius largely explains his influence in establishing his modified Stoicism as the chief Roman philosophy from his time to that of Marcus Aurelius; for, although the Stoics continued to teach the encyclopaedia of philosophy—physics, logic, metaphysics, etc.—the interest

of the Romans was centred in ethics, which became for them the art of living in such a way as constantly to advance in virtue. The aim of the devout under the early Empire cannot be better stated than in Seneca's words:

> I am not yet wise, nor shall I ever be. Do not ask me to be equal to the best, but rather to be better than the base. This is enough for me—to take away daily something from my faults and daily to rebuke my errors. I have not attained complete moral health, nor shall I ever attain it.[1]

Epictetus's definition of philosophy is also illuminating:

> What is philosophy? Is it not a preparation against things which may happen to a man?[2]

Although Marcus Aurelius was the last great Stoic, Stoicism did not die with him. It ceased to be prominent as a separate school, only because its principles had been largely absorbed by others, including Christianity.

(*b*) Epicureanism and Mysticism.

In the last century and a half of the Republic, a time of political struggle and disaster, of growing scepticism toward the traditional forms of religion, of rapidly increasing wealth and complexity of life, many Romans found refuge in the quietistic teachings of the Epicureans. Some turned to scepticism or to mysticism, though other philosophies had also their adherents. The significant point is that all intellectual Romans had adopted some form of Greek philosophic thought as well as Greek habits of expression.

Philosophic Schools in the Empire.

Yet the eastern half of the Mediterranean still remained the home of learning. Alexandria maintained the pre-eminence which had been hers from the beginning of the third century, her only rival, Pergamum in western Asia Minor, being now eclipsed. Athens enjoyed the reflected glory of her great past, which still drew many to her. For instruction in oratory the Roman went to the schools of Smyrna and of Rhodes. Cicero, for example, spent two years in the advanced study

[1] *De vita beata*, 17.

[2] *Diss* iii. 10. 6.

of rhetoric in Athens, Asia Minor, and Rhodes; Julius Caesar likewise studied at Rhodes. The political centre of the world, however, was Rome, which had already attracted to itself many of the intellectual élite from all parts of the Empire. The Roman world, therefore, was a unit politically and intellectually. Although Latin prevailed in the western half and Greek in the east, this difference of language was insignificant for reasons already given. The habits of thought and the modes of expression from one end of the Mediterranean area to the other were identical. The significance of this can hardly be over-estimated.

Octavian's victory at Actium brought peace.

The battle of Actium, 31 B.C., marks a new era in the history of this Graeco-Roman world. From that year we may with good reason date the establishment of the Roman Empire. The results of the political change were of the utmost importance for the matters now under consideration. The decay of the Roman Republic had gone on rapidly during its last century. By the time of Tiberius Gracchus (133 B.C.) the citizens of Rome had begun to show themselves less capable of self-government than they had been in the earlier centuries of external stress. The state fell into the hands of politicians—some, like the Gracchi, actuated by good motives; others, selfish, eager only for power. In fact, the political history of Rome during the last century of the Republic is written in the lives of a few men. Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, Saturninus, Marius, Cinna and Sulla; Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus; Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus—these were the men who for good or ill led the state or strove for its control by means often illegal and subversive of orderly government. Moreover, this last century was a period in which Rome was frequently harassed and more often threatened by civil wars; and from January, 49 B.C., when Caesar crossed the Rubicon, to September, 31 B.C., when Octavian secured the mastery of the maritime world against Antony and Cleopatra, Italy and many other lands suffered almost continuously from civil strife. With the victory at Actium

peace was restored, and although it proved to be the downfall of Republican institutions,[1] it was hailed with enthusiasm and gratitude. This Pax Romana was destined to last, with only brief interruptions, for almost exactly two hundred years.

With peace came a revival of trade, a sense of security, and a return of prosperity, to which Virgil and Horace bear eloquent witness. Horace, in the fifth and fifteenth odes of his Fourth Book, celebrates Augustus as the restorer of peace to a distressed world, with a warmth of expression which he uses toward him only in one other place. Virgil's *Georgics* express the hope of the Romans immediately after the battle of Actium, and many passages in his *Aeneid* give utterance to the gratitude felt when the first ten years of Augustus's rule had passed. In January, 27 B.C., when the Emperor was given his title *Augustus*, there was no man who could not remember the time when civil war or sedition was not threatening the state. When Augustus died forty-one years later, the fear of civil strife had been banished from men's minds, and the Empire so firmly established that the power passed without opposition into the hands of Tiberius.

Provincial reorganisation.

The disorders of the last century of the Republic had naturally contributed to insecurity of life and property. Even though such extreme cases as that of Verres in Sicily may not have been common, few provincial governors could resist the temptation to squeeze large sums from the provincials during their brief terms of office. Augustus reorganised the Empire, taking under his control all the provinces in which an armed force was needed, leaving for the Senate only the more peaceful countries. The governors of imperial provinces were selected by him ; they were provided with a generous salary, kept in many cases for years in the same province, and were forced to render an exact account of their stewardship to their imperial master. Gradually the management of the senatorial provinces was so far improved that the lot of the provincials from Augustus's day onwards was distinctly better than it had been under the Republic. The

[1] Cf. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 28. 3.

wealth of many of these provinces increased; those which had been comparatively unproductive prospered, and indeed the entire Empire witnessed a revival of trade and of prosperity somewhat comparable to the European revival after the Napoleonic wars or to that rapid development in the United States which followed the Civil War.

Improvement of communications.

No small factor in the development of commerce and in the unification of the early Empire was the security and speed with which one might travel. The great Roman roads, which still excite our admiration, were, in the first instance, built for military purposes, but they became great highways for all. Starting from the golden milestone in the Forum at Rome, one could travel to the borders of the Empire with a rapidity and safety which has since been unknown even in Western Europe until within a hundred years. If a Roman wished to go rapidly to the East, he left by the ancient Appian Way, passed through Capua and Beneventum to Brundisium, then crossed the Adriatic either to Dyrrhachium or Apollonia; thence he proceeded over the mountains to Thessalonica and Byzantium. A traveller to Spain found three great roads leading to the Po Valley; thence he crossed the Alps by the Mont Genèvre and descended into the valley of the Rhone; continuing on, he came to the modern Nîmes and Narbonne, whence he entered Spain, either by the road which led along the Mediterranean coast or over one of the mountain passes. Within the Spanish peninsula were many roads which led him to all the important cities, terminating at Gades, the modern Cadiz. Other great roads led up the Rhone valley into the valley of the Moselle, to the Rhine, or branched off to Northern and Western Gaul. From Verona the traveller might pass into the modern districts of the Tyrol, Southern Germany, and Western Austria. Many of these roads of course followed ancient trade routes. In the old and long-civilised East, the Persians and the Greeks had marked out and maintained the main roads long before the Romans became masters. Through the central part of Asia Minor an ancient trade route

ran from Ephesus east to the Euphrates; another led along the northern part of Asia Minor; and a third, branching off and passing through Cilicia, came to Antioch, and thence continued to the Euphrates and the Tigris.

The rate of travel was from thirty to fifty miles a day, although on occasion much higher speeds could be maintained. Julius Caesar covered one hundred miles a day in a hired carriage, and once the Emperor Tiberius travelled two hundred miles in twenty-four hours. Private correspondence was despatched chiefly by hired messengers, who might cover twenty-five miles a day on foot. For official business Augustus established an imperial post modelled on that earlier maintained by the Persians. The average rate of transmission seems to have been about five miles an hour.

Sea routes.

The routes by sea had been determined by the Phoenicians and Greeks centuries before the Romans began a transmarine commerce. From Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber and from Puteoli on the bay of Naples, ships reached Alexandria, occasionally in seven or eight days; but under unfavourable conditions a merchantman might take as much as fifty. The average run of a sailing-ship was reckoned at four to six knots an hour. With a fair wind and good weather one could sail from Ostia to Africa in two days, to Tarraco in Spain in four, and to Gades beyond the Pillars of Hercules in seven. The adventurous merchant or traveller could embark for India from Myos Hormos or from Berenice on the Arabian Gulf, sailing with the western winds in midsummer and returning with the favouring blasts of mid-winter. In the reign of Augustus, one hundred and twenty ships from Myos Hormos were despatched annually on these long voyages.

Suppression of piracy.

The Roman of Cicero's day seems not to have cared to travel for pleasure. The decay of the Roman navy during the second century B.C. and the disturbed conditions of the state gave pirates and freebooters of every sort large opportunities. So bold had the pirates become after 80 B.C., that, no longer content with plundering the rich coast cities of Asia and the Aegean Sea,

they finally carried their depredations into the harbours of Italy itself, burnt a Roman fleet at Ostia, and captured two praetors with their suites. In 67 B.C. a revolutionary measure gave Pompey supreme command over the whole Mediterranean, and power co-ordinate with that of the provincial governors for fifty miles inland. In ninety days he had crushed the pirates, and was ready for greater military triumphs. After this, organised piracy on any considerable scale was to be encountered only in such remote places as the Black Sea and on the way from Egypt to India. In the years immediately following the battle of Actium an effort was made to secure safety on sea and on land; for the victor well knew that the success and popularity of his rule depended in no small degree on the prosperity of the great mass of the people. Vigorous measures were taken to check brigandage and to drive out piracy; though neither was ever completely eradicated, still it may be said without exaggeration that during the first two centuries of our era one could travel in Mediterranean lands over a wider area and with greater security than it has ever been possible to do since.

Facilities of travel established.

Under the Emperor Augustus, then, life was fairly secure for the traveller, whether he wished to use the high roads which penetrated to the very ends of the empire, or would travel by ship along the ancient lanes of commerce in the Mediterranean. In praising Augustus as the one who had restored peace, Horace says, "pacatum volitant per mare navitae"[1]; and Suetonius records that when Augustus, on one of the last days of his life, happened to be sailing past the bay of Puteoli, the passengers and crew of an Alexandrian ship, which had just arrived, put on white, crowned themselves with garlands, and, bearing incense, poured out their good wishes and praises to the Emperor, saying that it was through him they lived, through him they sailed the seas, and through him that they enjoyed their liberty and fortunes.[2] The praise was not undeserved. Later emperors developed and perfected the system of roads; and on the whole the

[1] Horace, *C.* iv. 5. 19.

[2] Suetonius, *Aug.* 98.

peace and security which Augustus established continued with few interruptions for two hundred years. From one end of the Empire to the other, merchants and traders, tourists, philosophers, rhetoricians, and missionaries moved freely. The Christians knew well the service which the Empire had rendered their faith, as the words of Irenaeus show: "The Romans have given the world peace, and we travel without fear along the roads and across the sea wherever we will." [1]

Law firmly established.

Another important factor was the universal protection of the law. Although Rome respected local systems and usages, she made her legal principles predominate, and if the provincial governors were honest, secured a large measure of common justice to all. Under the Empire there was an improvement over the condition of affairs which prevailed in the Republic. The Emperor became the court of last resort, to whom the Roman citizen, like Paul, in danger of life might appeal; and the watchfulness of the imperial administration aimed to protect the non-citizen as well.

The Empire becomes cosmopolitan.

Security under the law, ease and safety of communication, with the consequent free movement from one part of the empire to another, made the world cosmopolitan. Professional rhetoricians and philosophers spread their doctrines by teaching in cities, and traders carried ideas as well as wares. Moreover, the slaves, the number of whom was enormous, were drawn from almost every land, and many were educated men; soldiers, too, were now enrolled from every province. Under the advancing power of the Roman Republic, separate nations had ceased to exist, so that all were either citizens or subjects of Rome; the growing autocracy of the Empire was destined to diminish the distinctions between citizens, provincials, and slaves, and to lead toward a cosmopolitan equality among all men.

We may therefore summarise by saying that in the time of Jesus the Mediterranean area had become a Graeco-Roman world, in which the civilisations of two great peoples—the one

[1] *Adv. Haer.* iv. 30. 3.

intellectual, the other political—had been fused and united. The national civilisations, even when as stubborn as those of Egypt and of Palestine, had been profoundly modified, so as to become coherent members of the unified whole. Moreover, the world was one of peace and security, cosmopolitan in thought and social contact.

Ideals of Roman world.

The next subject for inquiry is the ideals of this world, whose conditions we have been thus far examining. With the destruction of local autonomy among the Greeks by Alexander and his successors, the cultivated citizen largely lost his opportunities for free political activity. He turned, therefore, to the cultivation and study of literature, to science, mathematics, and philosophy. New intellectual ideas thus became established. If Alexandria was the greatest home of learning and culture in the three centuries which preceded the birth of Jesus, it had, however, many rivals. The ideal of the cultivated literary man, with other elements of Greek civilisation, was adopted by the Roman, without impairing his political activity. In Cicero and Caesar we find men uniting great political ability with the highest literary power, and displaying a cultivation of the intellect unrivalled among the Greeks and Orientals of their day. To scientific studies, as well as to the practice of painting and sculpture, the Roman was singularly indifferent; but literature in every form, whether spoken or written, became almost the passion of his life. In philosophy he had not yet made any important contributions; but he had absorbed the teachings of all the leading schools. How completely Cicero had apprehended Greek philosophic doctrines, especially in matters of conduct, is shown by his philosophic essays, in which he rendered inestimable service to his own time and to all the centuries since by his interpretation of Greek thought.

This culture of the Ciceronian Age, in which many of the finest elements of both Greek and Roman civilisation were combined, became the ideal of the age of Augustus and of later

centuries. The Augustan literature, with Vergil, Horace, and Livy as its leading names, is the enduring expression of this ideal established by the previous generation. The numbing weight of imperial restriction was as yet slightly felt, and men of letters expressed themselves without fear.

Decay of the religion of the State.

In order to understand the religious and philosophic conditions of the Graeco-Roman world in the time of Jesus, account must be taken of the decay of the old Roman state religion, which consisted primarily in the performance with scrupulous care and exactness of the prescribed ritual by which the divine powers were to be brought to do the things which the suppliant desired. This religion was largely mechanical, intended to secure material blessings, nor was the Graeco-Roman religion, which resulted from the influence of Greece on Rome, better, although it probably brought certain aesthetic satisfactions. There was little in either to ennoble daily life, except that they taught lessons of duty and fidelity toward the gods and the community. But a mechanical religion cannot permanently satisfy a people. When men are aroused to reflection, when they begin to ask the deeper questions as to the nature of gods and of men, when they inquire as to the life beyond, the doom of a mechanical religion, or of any other which cannot undertake to answer these questions, is pronounced. Among the Greeks, faith in the traditional religion had begun markedly to decay as early as the fifth century B.C.; with the Romans the date was three centuries later.

Yet it is well at this point to emphasise the fact that the old religions of Greece and Rome, especially the religion of house, community, and field, were cultivated by the mass of the people until long after Christianity had proved its power. The extant dedications to the gods and the law-codes prove this fact; and if it had not been so, the Christian Apologists would have been slaying men of straw, while such comparatively late works as Orosius's *History* and Augustine's *City of God*, both of which are elaborate attacks on popular paganism as well as defences of

Christianity, would have been foolish. Philosophy touched the common man chiefly in matters of conduct, without arousing in him theological questionings. It is true that the syncretistic tendency of the Empire affected all classes to a certain extent, so that, in the minds of the masses, Jupiter or Zeus acquired a supreme and comprehensive meaning; but, as we shall see, neither philosophic nor oriental syncretism seriously interfered with polytheism. Undoubtedly syncretism did in some degree pave the way for monotheism, yet the ordinary man continued to find it easy and natural to think of the gods as separate entities, to whom individually he must give his worship and from whom he could expect the proper benefit. With the intellectual classes it was far different, for their faith in the popular religion had been shaken as early as the second century B.C. If special attention is devoted to philosophy in the following pages, it is because this was the most vital religious force in the Mediterranean world at the beginning of the Christian era, and provided intellectual training for the class which was to furnish the leaders for Christianity as soon as the Apostolic Age was passed.

Philosophy subversive of popular religion.

The greatest enemy of the traditional religions of Greece and Rome was indeed philosophy, for by endeavouring to reduce in number the principles which control the universe, it is diametrically opposed to polytheism. Moreover, as soon as it approaches the question of conduct, it examines the traditional principles of right and wrong, and if it finds these unsatisfactory, it devises rules of its own which may be at variance with those which have hitherto prevailed. When Greek philosophy came to Rome it had already had a long history, and all the great schools, except the mystic philosophies of the Empire, had been developed. They had swift effect in Rome during the second and first centuries before our era. The Romans began to doubt, and many, like the poet Ennius († 169 B.C.), a man of strong religious bent and moral convictions, sought refuge in Epicurean scepticism. We may quote the words which Telamon speaks in one of Ennius's

tragedies, as fairly representing the poet's own attitude in matters theological:

> I have always said, and I shall always say, that the gods of heaven exist, but I believe that they have no care for what the race of man does. For if they had such care, it would be well with the good and ill with the wicked, which is not the case now.[1]

This is the ancient difficulty of justifying the ways of God to man. Ennius and many of his time adopted the easy solution by denial.

Euhemerus.

Ennius also translated and made known to the Romans the *Sacred History* of Euhemerus, a romantic tale written in the third century B.C., in which the author told of an imaginary voyage which he had made from Arabia to the island Panchaia in the Indian Ocean; there he found inscribed on a column the true history of the supposed gods, Uranus, Cronos, and Zeus, and learned that they and the other gods and heroes had been originally historical persons, who were raised to their high position because of the services they had rendered mankind.[2] This *Sacred History* is an interesting example of a second way of escape from religious perplexity—that of rationalism; and the fact that Ennius thought it worth while to introduce this work to the Romans in the first half of the second century before our era is significant, as suggesting how far doubts as to the validity of the official and traditional religion had already gone.

Leading philosophic schools.

In those parts of the eastern Mediterranean area where Greek thought prevailed, traditional religion had long since lost its hold on intellectual men; in Rome and the Latin west the official religion went the same way rapidly during the last two centuries before our era. Men gave their allegiance to the several philosophies which the Greek genius had evolved, each one of which was in some degree of religious significance. The three most important schools were the Epicurean, the Stoic, and the

[1] *Frg. Scen.* 316 ff. Vahlen[2].
[2] *Frg. Euhem.* pp. 223-229, Vahlen[2].

Academy; in addition a sceptical tendency appeared in certain schools, and philosophic mysticism began.

Epicureanism

In the passage quoted above from a tragedy by Ennius, we must note that the Epicurean did not deny the existence of the gods, but only rejected certain current notions about them. Indeed it is true, contrary to popular belief even now, that the Epicureans, so far from being atheistic, were unwilling to give up a belief in the existence of the gods. In truth, with their epistemological ideas, it is hard to see how they could have done so; for they observed that men everywhere believed in divine beings, and that this belief rested on a "primary notion" of the mind (*πρόληψις*), which, in their view, was itself warrant of its validity. This was clear because this primary notion must arise from physical perception of the pictures of the gods, as of all other things known to us, which atoms produce. In fact we must bear in mind throughout our discussion of the philosophic conditions of this age, that all schools, except those which remained true to the teachings of Plato and Aristotle, were materialistic, making no greater distinction between body and mind, matter and spirit, than they did between solid and vapour. Epicurus, in his explanation of the universe, had reverted to the atomistic views of Democritus (fl. *c.* 420–360 B.C.), and held that all phenomena result mechanically from a rain of atoms. Consequently this school was logically opposed to all explanations of the world which regarded mind or reason as the causative force.

Again the Epicurean held that gods were needed to embody his ideal of happiness, for while as a philosopher he realised that man cannot attain to complete happiness, he could not escape the desire to believe that such perfection existed somewhere in the universe. Such an argument was not logical, but was based rather on a natural and religious longing; but it was not the less cogent for that reason. The Epicurean gods, therefore, were created absolutely in man's image, for to the followers of Epicurus, the human frame was the most beautiful of all forms of animal life, and man was the only reasoning creature; conse-

quently their gods were perfect beings in human form, free from everything which was not fitting for their divine estate. Immortality and perfect happiness they must possess; their bodies are similar to those of men, but made up of the finest atoms, and so more ethereal; and they dwell in the space between the worlds where the sky is always fair, in most profound tranquillity, far removed from the affairs of men. If the gods cared for humankind or concerned themselves with this world, they could not be perfectly happy, since sorrow and pain are incompatible with complete bliss. These divine beings have no need of us; they desire no propitiation or service from the good, and they are not moved by anger toward the wicked. Their number is infinite, for they cannot be fewer than mortals.[1]

In this way the Epicurean squared his views with popular polytheism, however much his religion differed in other respects from that of the multitude. Moreover, he could gladly join in the ordinary religious exercises, for he regarded worship as one means by which man could express his admiration for the divine perfection and majesty; it gave an outlet for his aspirations, although it could not be prompted by any notion that the gods needed his service, or had the least desire that he should fear them. This motive of fear the Epicurean regarded as the main error in popular religion, and, as a missionary to a terrified world, he devoted himself to ridding men's minds of this obsession.

In the Epicurean scheme no form of future life had any place. The soul was regarded as material, like the body; only the atoms of which it is composed are the lightest and finest, and therefore the most easily moved. Both soul and body are received from parents, and the one grows with the other, so that when the connection between them is broken for any cause, both perish. In this doctrine the Epicurean found comfort, for if there could be no joy after death, there likewise could be no pain or evil for us; and so he taught that men must regard the centuries

[1] Lucret. v. 52 f.; Cic. *De nat. deor.* i. *passim*; for a full collection of data see H. Usener, *Epicurea*, pp. 232-262.

which should come after life of as little concern to them as the ones before they existed. Living in an age when the majority of the religious were haunted by fears of the next world—the punishments of which were often pictured with as much gusto as any Christian ever displayed—the followers of Epicurus felt themselves called to banish these fears, and so to relieve the distress of spirit caused by them.

Lucretius.

The missionary zeal of the sect found splendid expression in the impassioned poetry of Lucretius, the contemporary of Cicero.[1] To free men from the vain fear of the gods and from the imagined terrors of a life after death was his high purpose. To accomplish this end he devoted his six books to an explanation of the universe and its phenomena, of the nature of man, and of the impossibility of immortality. He was only repeating the teachings of his predecessors, but his poetic genius—unmatched in many ways among the Romans—gave his doctrines an enduring expression, and his passionate nature lent a fire to his lines, which show how deeply the Epicurean could be moved by his beliefs.

In practical life this school, like others, taught that happiness was the goal of human effort and desire. But the Epicurean system was very far from being a thorough-going hedonism. On the contrary, the Epicureans held that since many pleasures, particularly those of the body, produce painful effects, they are to be avoided, as some pains are to be welcomed, because they result in good and contribute to happiness. This happiness, they said, was to be found in a life guided by intelligence, which taught the philosopher that his actual needs were few and could be easily obtained. Under the direction of intelligence, the sage, confident of the superiority of the satisfactions of the mind over those of the body, could rise above the life of the senses, so that neither present pleasure nor present pain, nor the hope or fear of either, could affect him. In this condition of perfect repose (*ἀταραξία*) toward his transitory environment, the philosopher

[1] With Lucretius's doctrines we may compare the arguments in Cicero, *Tusc.* i. 82-119.

could attain to virtue and to its inseparable companion, happiness.

Such teaching tended to produce in the individual a life evenly balanced, well regulated, and useful to society. In the political and social disasters of the last three centuries B.C. it undoubtedly helped to give thoughtful men a resigned spirit, if not a satisfied existence. For the religious doubts, which the failure of the traditional religions brought, it endeavoured to substitute a positive doctrine of negation, if we may so describe a teaching, which did not so much deny the existence of the gods, as affirm that they could have no concern with mankind, and that therefore mankind need have no concern with them. Epicureanism further endeavoured to free men from their most distressing fears by showing the haunting terror of future punishment to be unfounded. So far as the Epicureans held valiantly to the perfection of their supramundane gods, we may recognise their religious spirit; yet from many points of view their concept of divinity was inferior to that of their predecessors, notably to that of Plato, who made goodness, once for all, an inseparable attribute of God—not goodness as an abstract notion, but as a quality which God constantly expresses toward his creation. Therefore, in spite of the genuine religious elements of Epicureanism, the school exerted its best influence as a social philosophy, by steadying and directing many in the educated circles of the Roman world. It enjoyed its widest popularity perhaps in the period between 100 B.C. and A.D. 50, though certainly by the latter date its vogue was greatly diminished; and although a public chair of Epicureanism in the schools at Athens was established in the second century of our era, the doctrines no longer appealed to any considerable number of men.

Stoicism.

To explain the decay of Epicureanism would be a difficult task. Many causes which can no longer be traced undoubtedly contributed to the result, but it seems fairly certain that a more positive and tonic doctrine was required by thinking men, especially by the Romans, than the quietistic teachings of Epicurus

could supply. Such was found in Stoicism, whose founder, Zeno, began to teach at Athens only a few years after Epicurus had established his school (406 B.C.). The two philosophies were introduced into Rome almost simultaneously, and for three centuries they had a parallel existence, although Epicureanism declined long before Stoicism ceased to enjoy a vigorous life.

Zeller wisely says, "Stoicism is not only a system of philosophy, but also a system of religion." This character arises from the Stoic doctrine of the relation of man and God, which was propounded rather as the philosophy of the sect than as an attack on the traditional religion. The Epicurean was fired with a missionary zeal which the Stoic hardly displayed before the days of the Roman Empire. Yet Stoicism, with Platonism, became for the most cultivated men, and finally for the masses, a philosophy far better qualified to satisfy religious longings, as a support of a moral life, than Epicureanism. It thus made large permanent contributions to religious thought and to ethical doctrine.

What, then, was the Stoic view as to the relation of man and God? To answer this, we must consider briefly the metaphysics of this school. The Stoics explained the universe by a thoroughgoing materialism, borrowed from Heraclitus, who flourished about 500 B.C., according to which there is no principle but matter in the whole universe. Yet with this monistic materialism, the Stoics combined the Aristotelian idea which recognised in all matter an active and a passive principle, the active forming and directing, the passive being formed and directed, so that by the operation of the active principle on the passive all phenomena of the universe come into being. To this active principle the Stoics gave all the characteristics which their predecessors had given to reason (λόγος) or to mind (νοῦς). Indeed to them λόγος was the cosmic creative force, although they stoutly maintained that it was wholly material.[1] This creative force

[1] The Stoic Logos must not be confused with the Logos of Philo. The Logos for the Stoic is the primary principle, or rather the active side of the primary

they identified now with fire, now with vapour, and now with both, in accordance with the imperfect science of their day. They thought that by fire as the operative principle, the creative reason is present and expresses itself in every part of the universe, for everything which is owes its very being and existence to this reason which permeates and directs it. This cosmic force is then God, the world-reason, which begets all things, and in which literally all things live and move and have their being. Now since man is a part of the cosmos, the world-reason naturally expresses itself in him, in fact, it is his reason, the directing portion of his soul, so that in Epictetus's striking phrase, we are "fragments of God." Here, then, is the doctrine of the immanence of God, the opposite of that transcendentalism which the Aristotelians and later Platonists taught. By maintaining that God is immanent in all things, the Stoics brought together again the worlds of matter and of reason which Plato had put asunder; and in the henotic character of their teaching they established a doctrine which later fitted in with the general course of pagan thought under the Empire, when philosophy and religion were at one in recognising in the world a single divine principle. Nor were the Stoics necessarily at variance with the monotheistic views of Judaism and Christianity. They thought and spoke of God as a personality.

Stoic Ethics.

But if man is a fragment of God, important religious and ethical consequences follow, of which the Stoics made full use. Their views of the nature of God made the identification of God and Nature inevitable. When, therefore, the question was asked

principle, by whose activity all things come into being. The Logos of Philo is intermediary between his transcendent God and Matter; through the Logos God creates the world and reveals Himself and His grace to men. The Logos is a creation, not eternal, as is God, nor yet mortal, as men are. It comprehends within itself the ideas (in the Platonic sense), and manifests itself through δυνάμεις, λόγοι, divine powers, angels, or daemones, to work God's will. Thus Philo's Logos occupies in part the place of Plato's Absolute; but by his frank adoption of a transcendent God, Philo was forced to use the Platonic Absolute in the second place in order to establish a connection between God and the world, for no system which genuinely regards God as transcendent can allow any direct trafficking between deity and matter.

as to the highest aim and duty of man, the obvious answer was "To live in accord with Nature," that is to say, man must bring himself into accord with that sovereign Nature which is God, and make his reason and his will harmonise with the universal reason and will, to which, indeed, they are a part. Thus the Stoic derived his ethics from his metaphysics.

The Will.

More than any other school, the Stoic demanded of his followers that they should exercise the will to enable them to live under the guidance of reason in complete accord with Nature. By such means man could liberate himself from the world and its influences, and by restraining all passion, could attain complete freedom (*ἀπάθεια*). But the mastery, whether partial or complete, the Stoic saw was to be secured only by the will's activity; therefore he held that man must regard as wholly indifferent all things that are not under the control of that faculty. On this point Epictetus discourses most interestingly.[1] He points out that the materials we employ in life are indifferent to us, neither good nor bad; they are like the dice with which we play our game. But, like the gamester, we must try to manage life dexterously; whatever happens we must say: "Externals are not within my power; choice is. Where, then, shall I seek good and evil? Why, within, in what is my own." And then, he continues, pointing out that we must count nothing good or evil, profitable or hurtful, or of any concern to us, that is controlled by others. In tranquillity and calm we must accept what life brings, concerned only with what actually depends on the will of each one of us. We must act in life as we do in a voyage: the individual can choose the pilot, the sailors, and the hour of his departure; after that he must meet quietly all that comes, for he has done his part; and if a storm arise, he must face with indifference disaster or safety, for these matters are quite beyond the power of his control. So, he maintains, sickness and health, abundance and need, high position, or the loss of station are

[1] *Diss.* i. 1; ii. 5. 13, and often.

things which my will cannot control. Therefore to me as a philosopher they are indifferent; I must have no anxiety about them; they really are not my affair. But my thoughts and my acts are matters that I can control, and in them I must find all my concern. The external circumstances, the acts of others do not touch me, but my own acts, my own relations, my own inner life are things to which I must give all of my attention. Thus the Stoic reasoned, holding that virtue was quite sufficient for happiness, in that it made man master of this world. Thus we see that to the doctrine of virtue, which the Cynics had magnified, the Stoics had added the vitalising principle of the operation of man's will, and thereby had made the pursuit of wisdom, which to them was identical with virtue, a powerful means of moral and spiritual edification.

The ideal of the Sage.

Like Socrates and the Cynics, whose heirs they were, the Stoics identified virtue with knowledge, and regarded the ideal philosopher as one who by attaining to true and complete knowledge, had reached perfect virtue. Therefore the ideal of "the sage" became the very centre of the Stoic doctrine. The earlier Stoics, with a Calvinistic logic which disregarded experience, had fixed an absolute gulf between the perfect wise man and the unwise; and, like the Cynics, they had declared that virtue, once attained, could not be lost. But this doctrinaire view was modified by the practical good sense of a later age, which taught that there were degrees in virtue, and that the most that the ordinary man could do was daily to progress toward his moral goal. As Seneca says, "I am not yet wise, nor shall I ever be. Do not ask me to be equal to the best, but rather to be better than the base. It is enough for me to take away daily something from my faults and daily to reject my errors."[1] The tonic value of such words is self-evident: the sudden perfection which the uncompromising doctrine of an earlier day had taught could not widely appeal to ordinary men, for they knew that such perfection was beyond their powers; but each might feel that daily progress

[1] *De vita beata*, 17.

in virtue he could make, even if at the end he should fail to reach his ideal goal.

Self-examination.

The means also of securing this daily progress were set forth by the Stoic teachers. Seneca advised his young friend Lucilius to select some person of noble character, like a Cato, a Scipio, or a Laelius, and to imagine that he was always present, watching and judging the novice's every act; then, when he had advanced to the point where his self-respect was sufficient to keep him from wrong-doing, he could dismiss his ideal guardian.[1] Such suggestions as this imply constant self-examination, and indeed this was urged by both Stoics and other moralists as well. Seneca says that he found the practice helpful.[2] Epictetus quoted from the "Golden Words" of Pythagoras, and reminded his hearers that the verses were not for recitation, but for use: "Never let sleep come to thy languid eyes e'er thou hast considered each act of the day. 'Where have I slipped?' 'What done, what failed to do?' Begin thus and go through all; and then chide thyself for thy shameful acts, rejoice over thy good."[3] Such a searching of one's daily acts Epictetus regarded as an essential exercise to prepare and train a man to meet the vicissitudes of life. In the discourse in which he quotes these Pythagorean verses, he continues with the question: "What is philosophy? Is it not a preparation against things which may happen to a man?" He argues that a man who throws away the patience which philosophy teaches him is like an athlete who, because of the blows he receives, wishes to withdraw from the "pancratium"—still worse than he, for the athlete may avoid his contest and escape the blows; but no man can escape the buffetings of life. Therefore, the preacher says that to give up philosophy is to abandon the one resource against misfortune, the only source of happiness and courage.

[1] *Epist.* 22. 8-10; 25. 5. 6. The use of *exempla* in moral instruction was apparently common. See Horace, *Sat.* i. 4. 105 ff. for the concrete training which his simple, hard-headed father gave him; and on the habit of self-examination see *ibid.* 133 ff.

[2] *De ira*, iii. 36. 1-4.

[3] *Diss.* iii. 10. 2.

Life as military service.

The pagan missionary, no less than the Christian apostle to the Gentiles, regarded life as a battle to be fought and a race to be run. Epictetus often compared human life to a warfare; he said that men were assigned their several places and duties in this world just as in an army one man is obliged to stand watch, another to spy, and a third to fight, each doing his part in the place in which the great general, God, has set him—a figure which Socrates had used five centuries earlier in his defence before his judges. In accord with this view of life as a battle or an athletic contest, the philosophers laid much weight on training. Seneca and Epictetus both exhorted their pupils to exercise themselves in the means whereby they could meet misfortune or be ready to perform any duty which the changes of life might bring them. The latter had a discourse "On Exercise," which was apparently a favourite theme for all Stoic preachers.[1] The purpose of this exercise was to train the individual in right abstentions and the proper use of his desires, so that he would be always obedient to reason and do nothing out of season or place; in short, to make him an adept in living so that he could manage his usual life with adroit uprighteousness and meet the sudden changes of fortune undismayed. The obligation to do this was laid on him as an individual. In another discourse Epictetus pointed out that the misfortunes of life were tests sent by God to prove the individual's fidelity in training:

> God says to you, "Give me proof if you have duly practised athletics, if you have eaten what you should, if you have exercised, if you have obeyed the trainer." And then will you show yourself weak when the time for action comes? Now is the time for a fever. Bear it well. Now the time for thirst. Endure thy thirst well.[2]

Thus through self-training the devoted Stoic was to fit himself to play his part wherever circumstances might place him; by such means he could develop his life and character and steadily approach his ultimate goal, a state in which he would be independent, happy, and serene, for his mind would be like God's.

[1] *Diss.* iii. 12. [2] *Diss.* iii. 10. 8.

Self-examination, self-training, daily advance in virtue, ultimate calm and peace—these were the moral habits and the attainable goals which the later Stoics tried to teach their age. Moreover, the Stoic doctrine of the community between the divine and the human reason gave a dignity to man; cut off from activity in the political world, he realised that he was dwelling in a world in which God and men were the citizens, that he shared in that divine polity, free in the freedom which his relationship to God gave him. Between man and God for the Stoic there was no gulf fixed; on the contrary, as Seneca wrote his younger friend:

> God is near you, with you, within you. This I say, Lucilius: a holy spirit sits within us, watcher of our good and evil deeds, and guardian over us. Even as we treat him, he treats us. No man is good without God. Can any one rise superior to fortune save with God's help? [1]

Conscience.

The inner conscience was to be the judge of men's actions. A noble conception of the worship of the gods and of man's duty toward them arose: not by the lighting of lamps, the giving of gifts, the slaying of bullocks, or visitation to the temples were the gods to be worshipped, but by a recognition of their true nature and goodness, by rendering to them again their perfect justice, and by ascribing to them constant praise.[2] In the contemplation of God alone and in loving obedience to his commands, lay the means of freeing the mind from sorrow, fear, desire, envy, avarice, and every base thought, and of securing that peace which no Caesar but only God could give.[3]

Citizenship.

The Stoic doctrine of the participation of all men in the divine reason led inevitably to a doctrine of cosmopolitanism which supplied the philosophic warrant for the conditions which Roman conquests had brought about. The Stoic from the first had regarded membership in this or that state as of slight moment

[1] *Epist.* 41. 2.
[2] Seneca, *Epist.* 95. 47-50; 115. 5; Epict. *Diss.* i. 16.
[3] Epict. *Diss.* ii. 16. 45-47; iii. 13. 9 ff.

compared to citizenship in the cosmos ; Seneca distinguished two states, the one that into which a man is born ; the other, the great and true commonwealth where dwell both gods and men, in which one looks not to this corner or to that, but measures its borders by the courses of the sun.[1] In like language Musonius taught that the "wise man," that is, the philosopher, believes himself to be a citizen of the city of God, which consists of gods and men.[2] So the Emperor Marcus Aurelius reflected : "To me as Antonius my city is Rome, but as a man it is the universe."[3] Moreover, because there is a fragment of the divine present in each man, distinctions of rank were of no account to the Stoic, but the slave and the Emperor were alike measured by their devotion to philosophic truth. Seneca thus states his position, "All of us have the same origin, the same source ; no man is nobler than another save he who has a more upright character and one better fitted to honourable pursuits."[4] This doctrine of the equality of man is one of the great legacies of Stoicism to all succeeding centuries.

We must therefore recognise that the contributions which the Stoics made to the ethical and religious life at the time of Jesus were already large, and that they continued to be an important force during the first two centuries and more of Christian history.[5] They showed that there is a moral order in nature to which man as a part of nature must conform ; by emphasizing the community of reason between man and God, they gave a religious sanction to duty toward God and man which had hitherto been lacking ; they laid much weight on the individual's obligations, and by the conclusions which they logically drew as to the

[1] *De otio*, iv. 1 ; cf. *Epist.* lxviii. 2.

[2] Stob. *Flor.* xl. 9. [3] vi. 44, and often.

[4] *De Ben.* iii. 28. On the common possession of the divine reason (λόγος); cf. Justin, ii. *Apol.* 13.

[5] Indeed Stoic ethics passed into Christianity, not only through popular channels, but especially through such work as that of Ambrose, who, in his *De officiis ministrorum*, set forth a doctrine of Christian ethics, which was largely indebted to Cicero's *De officiis* ; Cicero, in his turn, had based the first two books of his treatise on the work of Panaetius, Περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος. See above, p. 224 f.

brotherhood of man, disregarding distinctions of birth, position, or race, and looking to character alone, they gave a great impulse to the improvement of morals, to the spread of justice and kindliness in private relations, and to a genuine love for humanity. The stimulus which a belief in personal immortality might have given them was replaced by a sense of divine kinship and a challenge to the will to choose the nobler course under the guidance of reason.

Stoic Theology.

On the theological side the Stoics established the doctrine of the immanence of God in opposition to the transcendental views of the Platonists and Aristotelians. Since they believed that the whole cosmos was animated by the universal reason, they naturally regarded every part of it as alive : the heavenly bodies were held to be gods, and the names of the greater gods of tradition were assigned to them. They believed further that the spirits of the best and wisest men survived the body as "daemones" or lesser divinities ; but with their cyclical view of the world, according to which in due season all would sink into fire, so that a new cosmic round might begin again, they could promise only a limited existence after death.

Believing thus in a multitude of divinities, the Stoic was able in a way to square himself with traditional religion. To explain the current myths he resorted to physical allegorisation, a device introduced in the sixth century B.C. But such an explanation of the ancient tales about the gods tended to destroy all belief in the gods themselves. In fact, Stoicism aided largely in destruction of traditional religion among the intellectual classes without succeeding in establishing monotheism in place of polytheism.

The Cynics.

In a consideration of the society of the Graeco-Roman world in the first century, the Cynics must have a place. The extreme views which these moralists held, their scorn for society with all its laws and conventions, their desire to return to Nature and to be independent of all external goods, their boorish and rude actions doubtless offended their more cultivated contemporaries.

But their insistence on virtue as the all-sufficient end and the strictness of life which some maintained gave point to their preaching, and made them a factor in the moral life of the day.

Influences of Platonism.

Plato and his greatest pupil, Aristotle, were, intellectually and spiritually, so far above their successors that the most significant elements in their philosophies were neglected for centuries. The Academy, on the side of metaphysics, not unnaturally gave excessive weight to Pythagorean ideas about number, and endeavoured in various ways to mediate between the supra-sensible and the sensible. Between Plato's "Supreme Idea," the Good, and the world known to our senses, a multitude of intermediate powers were thought to exist, corresponding to the Ideas of the founder. In due time these notions were developed to include an elaborate demonology on the one hand, such as we find in Plutarch, and, on the other, the gradations from a transcendent God through the Logos down to the world of sensible phenomena, such as we find in Philo and finally in the Neo-platonists.

Such systems as these might be described as pluralistic monotheisms. Judaism in its strictest thought was a genuine monotheism, but the Jews made abundant provision for "daemones" and angels, minions of wickedness and servants of righteousness; yet they did not develop a pluralistic theology, except under the influence of Platonism. Christianity early became a Trinitarian compromise. The proof of the influence of Greek thought on Christian theology is readily found in the Prologue to the Gospel of John and in the work of Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Augustine.

In due season this transcendental theology, derived from Greek philosophy, was combined with a system of ethics which, originally at least, had been associated with the immanent theology of Stoicism. The difficulties attending such a combination were few, for Stoicism had become a moral system which had acted and reacted upon the Academy and the Peripatetics. So

far as practical morals were concerned, all schools had much in common; nor did primitive Christianity itself put forth a moral system based on an elaborate theology or metaphysic. The result was that there was little or no conflict between Christian ethics and those of the Stoics, so that when Christianity found it desirable to state its ethics in systematic form, it proved most convenient for it to adapt that system which had already by experience proved itself best and had commended itself to the good sense of mankind. Of course this adaptation was made more or less unconsciously by most Christians, although Ambrose in the fourth century was well aware what he was doing. The permanence of the Stoic ethics—for they are still the basis of Christian morality—has proved the wisdom of those who adopted them.

The influence of Platonism can also be recognised in the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Primitive Christianity related the hope of immortality to the person, death, and resurrection of Jesus. But as Christianity expanded, it added philosophic arguments. In the difficulties which the Gentile Church felt in accepting a belief in the physical resurrection, Platonic spiritualism came to its aid, as it did when time disappointed the hope of the early return of Christ to reign on earth. Later, Augustine, in his tract *De immortalitate animae*, took over many of the arguments by which Plato had supported his belief in immortality, and which had been repeated by the later Academy, as well as by the Neo-platonists.[1]

Thus we see that the Academy had a profound influence not only on later philosophic thought, but also on Christianity. The Peripatetic School, true to the great interest of its founder in science, became immersed in specialised studies, and made some of the chief contributions to Alexandrian learning. Although this school never lost its ethical interest, it was not so significant at the opening of our era that it need detain us here.

Scepticism. The sceptical tendencies, the doubts as to the possibility of

[1] Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* i. 25-76; Plotinus, *Enn.* iv. 7.

attaining absolute knowledge, which were started by the Sophist of the fifth century B.C., had been developed during the fourth and third centuries into something like a philosophic system. Although introduced into the Academy in the latter century, in Cicero's day scepticism was no longer the property of any one school; it was rather an attitude of mind found in members of different schools, who, doubting the ability of man to secure absolute knowledge, fell back on probability; but this attitude of mind naturally produced an agnosticism among the educated which had much influence on their religious thought.

Practical character of philosophy.

Like Epicureanism and Stoicism the New Academy was chiefly concerned with the art of living, with practical ethics rather than with speculation. Indeed with Plato and Aristotle the great period of Greek speculative and creative thought had closed. Thereafter philosophy was dogmatic and practical. Moreover, as we have seen, it accommodated itself to the facts of experience and fitted itself to be in truth the guide of life. However much the Epicurean, the Stoic, the Cynic, and the sectary of the New Academy might differ in theory, they all agreed in counting happiness the chief end of man, and in identifying happiness and virtue. All aimed to make the individual superior to the vicissitudes of life and to equip him to perform with skill the duties of his position, whatever that might be.

Furthermore, philosophy had ceased to dwell in the closet, but had come into the market-place. The philosophic preacher and the spiritual director were not uncommon in Augustus's time, and the sermons preached to-day still show the influence of the ancient Stoic and Cynic diatribe. The art of living which philosophy taught was no longer to be learned primarily from books, but from the preacher and from the conscience, the inner guide. The last great Stoic, Marcus Aurelius, bade his books farewell, since they were not for him, and exhorted himself to set all his mind on his guiding reason.[1] The unlettered as well as the learned could apprehend the art of life.

[1] *Medit.* ii. 2.

Philosophy unable to supply the place of religion.

Yet men were not satisfied with the practice of virtue, under the guidance of reason and the control of the will. Noble as the ideal was, and it was not infrequently put into practice, there was still something lacking. A religious unrest was widespread which the current philosophies did not fully meet. The loss of creative power which had accompanied the decay of national life and civilisation in the eastern half of the Mediterranean area during the last three centuries before our era, had taken away the keen satisfaction of life which earlier centuries had known. Men had become conscious of their own weakness and helplessness; they longed for an assurance of protection here and of salvation hereafter, which they could not find in the traditional religions or in their own minds; consequently they turned for help outside themselves, and sought their assurance in revelation or in mystic union with God. Even the Stoic in the end felt the necessity of grace, as is proved by Seneca's words already quoted: "No man is good without God. Can any one rise superior to fortune save with God's help?"[1]

Mysticism.

Two means for satisfying this religious longing already existed in the first century B.C.: one was to be found in the mystic philosophies which were just beginning, the second in the many forms of pagan mysteries, some of which had long been established, while others were now entering the Graeco-Roman world.

There was a strain of mysticism in Plato himself. This side of his philosophy was magnified by certain of his followers, and we have already spoken of the emphasis laid on Pythagorean elements by some of the later Academicians. In the last century before our era there was a revival of Pythagorean mysticism, combined with Platonism, which we call Neo-pythagoreanism. The first representative of this movement known to us was Nigidius Figulus, a contemporary of Cicero; its most famous figure was Apollonius of Tyana, who lived under Nero. The work of reconciling Jewish theology with Greek philosophy began

[1] *Epist.* 41. 2.

at Alexandria as early as the second century B.C. The first to combine the two into a philosophic system, the full importance of which can be shown only in connection with a study of Neo-platonism and of early Christian theology, was Philo (born *c.* 25 B.C.).

Both Neo-pythagoreans and Philo emphasised the idea first given significance by the Orphics and Pythagoreans in the sixth century B.C., on which Plato laid much stress, of the conflict of the flesh and the spirit in man. Both naturally inculcated a contempt for the things of sense, and favoured an asceticism, which indeed was approved in greater or less degree by the followers of every school. But it is more significant that both schools believed that man, when in a state of ecstasy, might receive direct revelation from God. Thus man's assurance was dependent on divine help; salvation was an act of grace. We are insufficiently informed with regard to Neo-pythagoreanism, but Philo plainly taught that the gulf between man and God could be passed by the devout soul, when in ecstasy it left this world and all the intermediate realms behind, and mounted directly to union with God. Such supreme blessing he believed was accorded to only the most holy of men.[1]

This is philosophy fired with religious emotion; it is a system in which reason gives way before a passionate desire for union with God. At the beginning of the Christian era it brought to the few a warrant similar to that which many had long received through the Greek mysteries.

Orphism.

As early as the sixth century B.C., the Orphic sect among the Greeks had emphasised the duality of man, regarding him as a divine soul imprisoned in a sinful body; and it also held that the divine soul in ecstasy could be united with God, that is, with Dionysus, and thereby could obtain a foretaste of immortality. Brotherhoods were formed, bound by a prescribed method of life, the end of which was to hasten the process of

[1] *Opif. mundi*, 69 f.; *Alleg. leg.* iii. 29 ff.

purification through a round of deaths and rebirths—for the Orphics taught palingenesis—and to secure the soul's permanent union with God.

Eleusis.

Older than the Orphics were the Mysteries of Demeter at Eleusis, where a festival, originally agricultural, had been early transformed into one of profounder meaning, by partaking in which the initiates gained assurance of future happiness. Here, as in the mysteries of Dionysus, Adonis, Attis, and Osiris, the story of a god who dies and lives again was made the warrant of man's hope. Of the detailed beliefs of the Eleusinian initiates we know little; whether they thought that they came into mystic union with the divine we cannot say; but there is no question as to their firm conviction that through initiation they had secured a happy life hereafter.[1] Branches of the Eleusinian mysteries were established in many parts of the Greek world; their popularity was great; many of the most prominent Romans were initiated under the later republic and during the empire; and the rites continued to be celebrated at Eleusis until the end of the fourth Christian century, when Alaric and his Goths destroyed the ancient sanctuary of Demeter.

Samothrace.

There were other mysteries in Greece, although none so influential as those at Eleusis. The island of Samothrace was the parent centre of the mysteries of two male divinities, the Kabeiroi; as early as the sixth century B.C. a branch was established near Thebes in Boeotia; another was at Thessalonica. Throughout the period in which these mysteries are known to us, Demeter and her daughter, Persephone, were associated with the Kabeiroi; and in ritual and effect these mysteries seem not to have differed essentially from those at Eleusis. There were also mysteries of Dionysus, who was associated with Demeter at Eleusis and with the Kabeiroi at Samothrace. At a later period we hear of the mysteries of Hecate, whose centre was the island of Aegina.

[1] Hom. *Hymn to Demeter*, 480 f.; Pindar, *Frg.* 137; Soph. *Frg.* 753; Aristoph. *Frogs*, 454 ff.

Bacchic Mysteries.

The Greeks brought Bacchic mysteries to Italy, where they gradually spread, so that early in the second century B.C. large numbers, including some of the upper classes in Rome, had been initiated. In 186 B.C., excesses, to which the nocturnal celebrations, found in all mysteries, readily lent themselves, caused the Roman Senate to adopt strict measures of control. The authorities believed that they had unearthed an association devoted to crime and conspiracy, and proceeded with great severity against the initiates, who were reported to number seven thousand. Those who had been initiated only, but had not been guilty of crime, were imprisoned; a larger number were put to death; and it was ordered that all the shrines (*Bacchanalia*) in Italy should be destroyed, except such as contained ancient altars or statues. Moreover the organisation of Bacchic societies was broken up. All these measures, however, were prompted by moral and political considerations. Religious scruples were such that it was voted that if any one felt that he must perform the rite, he should consult the *praetor urbanus*, who was to present the matter to the Senate. If the Senate, when at least one hundred members were present, allowed the request, then the petitioner might perform the rite, but not more than five persons could attend the sacrifice. Although, in later times, we heard nothing of *Bacchanalia*, the mystic service of Dionysus continued under other names.[1]

In all these mysteries, through rites of initiation and fixed celebrations, the devotees received the assurance of security here and happiness hereafter. Although originally the mysteries may have been magical rather than ethical in intent, as early as the last part of the fifth century B.C. they had acquired a moral significance, as the song of the initiates in Aristophanes' *Frogs* shows: "For we alone have a sun and a holy light, we who are initiated and who live toward friends and strangers in dutiful and pious fashion."[2] Our data are not sufficient to enable us

[1] See Livy xxxix. 8-19; cf. xxxix. 41 and xl. 19; *C.I.L.* i. 196.

[2] *Frogs*, 454 ff.

to draw certain conclusions; but it is highly probable that ultimately all mysteries fostered morality.

Vergil and the future life.

The sixth book of Vergil's *Aeneid* is closely related to some of the fundamental ideas of the Greek mysteries, and is the most important religious document of its time, for it sets forth most fully the popular and philosophic ideas concerning the other world, which were held by both Greeks and Romans. In form it is a "Descent to Hades," standing midway in the long series of apocalypses, beginning with the eleventh book of the *Odyssey* and ending with Dante's *Divine Comedy*. The journey which Aeneas makes through the other world under the guidance of the Cumaean Sibyl is essentially a mystic initiation, through which Aeneas receives enlightenment and strength to enable him to go on to the perfect accomplishment of the task which the divine purpose has imposed on him.[1] The experience is a revelation of the meaning of life and death. It is sufficient here merely to mention the stages of the journey before Tartarus and Elysium are reached. On the hither side of Acheron Aeneas and his guide meet the souls of those whose bodies have not found burial, and who therefore must wait a hundred years, the maximum of a human life, before they can cross the river. Once across the stream, the two earthly visitors encounter shades of many kinds, who must tarry there until the span of life allowed them has been completed—infants and those who met their end by violence. Then the Sibyl and Aeneas come to the walls of Tartarus, which the hero may not enter. Next they pass to Elysium. Near by, in a green field, they find Anchises' shade looking at the souls which are waiting to be born into the upper world. The revered shade discloses to his son the doctrine of metempsychosis, according to which the soul must suffer through a series of lives and deaths, which are at once times of penance and of purification, that at last, free from sin, it may attain final bliss.[2] Three things are especially noteworthy: first, the testi-

[1] Cf. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, pp. 419 ff.

[2] For a full understanding of this book, Norden's edition is indispensable. Teubner, Leipzig. 1903.

mony to a widespread interest in a future life; secondly, the common belief in the possibility of a revelation through mystic initiation; and, finally, the proof that life here and in the other world was thought to rest on a moral basis, both being occasions for penance and purification and opportunities for moral growth, which were the means by which final happiness was to be secured.

Oriental mysteries.

These ideas, current among both Greeks and Romans at the beginning of our era, had had a long development in Greek thought, as has been shown; they were emphasised also by the mysteries of certain oriental religions, which, long established in the eastern part of the Roman Empire, were destined to play an important part in the western half during the first four Christian centuries. The most important were the mysteries of Isis, of Mithras, and of Cybele, the Great Mother of the Gods. This last goddess was introduced into Rome from Asia Minor by the Senate in 204 B.C., to end the long dangers of the Second Punic War, but her cult was carried on by Phrygian priests until after the close of the Republic. In the time of the Emperor Claudius, however, her worship seems to have experienced a great expansion; new festival days were added to the calendar, and her mysteries began their wide appeal. The religion of Isis and her associate gods, as well as the mysteries connected therewith, were brought to Italy by Greeks and by Egyptian traders and slaves in the second century B.C., but the mysteries began to have a vogue in the west only under the early Empire. The religion of Mithras likewise became influential in the west toward the close of the first Christian century. These cults had large followings in Italy and in most of the European provinces of the Roman Empire until about 250–275 A.D., when they gave way before the advance of Christianity; yet in Rome a pagan national revival kept them alive until the very end of the fourth century.

But if these oriental mysteries were not powerful in the western Mediterranean area until Christianity had acquired a foothold in Italy, they had long been established in Egypt and the Asiatic provinces. In fact, Isis and Osiris had reigned in

Egypt for two thousand years, and the reorganisation of their religion by Ptolemy Soter (306–285 B.C.), whereby Greek elements were grafted on the Egyptian stock, had not broken the continuity of the sacred history. Traders and slaves carried this religion to every shore of the Mediterranean. Cybele and Attis were domiciled in Asia Minor before history began. Mithraism had originated in Persia at a remote period, but was widespread in Asia Minor during the last three centuries before the Christian era.

Stages of Initiation.

A brief account of these oriental mysteries must suffice. In all, there were closed communities of devotees, who had been admitted to the sacred organisation through rites intended to test courage and to impress the imagination. Thus the devout, through emotional experiences and revelations, gained assurance of divine aid here and hereafter. Initiation was a rebirth into a new life. For the devotees there were degrees which marked their advance in religious proficiency. The Isiac initiate entered first on the degree which bore the name of the goddess herself; he might then be called through a vision to the grade of Osiris-Serapis; and if the goddess summoned him to the highest degree, he became a member of the priestly class, in which his shaven head and linen dress testified his consecration. In the mysteries of Mithras there were seven grades, each with its symbol and magic name; apparently full membership in the Mithraic brotherhood was reached after passing through the first three degrees.

Differences between Greek and oriental mysteries.

So far, the oriental mysteries were essentially parallel to the Greek, in which also there were two grades for the initiates; they differed, however, in certain essential points. In the first place they were exotic, foreign to the Graeco-Roman world which they penetrated, and had all the appeal which a foreign origin seems to give a religion, especially in a time of distress or of religious poverty. These oriental religions, moreover, unlike those of Greece or Rome, were proselytising; in their service priests recruited converts from every source; and each

religion had among its sectaries considerable bodies of men who followed a holy life, known as *sacrati* or *consecranei*, "the consecrated," and who addressed one another as "brothers," *fratres*. Again the gods from the East were more adaptable than the gods of Greece and Rome, and took the new characteristics and functions required by a changed environment without losing their individualities; and their systems were easily modified to meet the needs and demands of successive generations. Thus they were able to adopt the current secular morality and eventually to become strong moral forces. Finally, all these faiths had a strong pantheistic or, rather, henotic tendency. The supreme divinity was regarded as the all-embracing divine power, which expressed itself in countless ways and under numberless forms. The best expression of such claims is found in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*, in the words with which Isis addresses Lucius in a vision:

> Lo, I am here, Lucius, moved by thy prayers, I, the parent of the universe, mistress of the elements, the primal offspring of the ages, greatest of divinities, queen of the dead, first among the celestials, the single form of gods and goddesses; I, who by my nod rule the bright heights of heaven, the healthful breezes of the sea, the gloomy silent shades below. To my divinity, one in itself, the entire world does reverence under many forms, with varied rites and manifold names. Hence it is that the primal Phrygians call me at Pessinus the Mother of the Gods, hence the Athenians, who are sprung from the ground on which they dwell, name me Cecropian Minerva, the wave-beat Cyprians, Paphian Venus, the archer Cretans, Dictynnan Diana, the Sicilians with their triple speech, Stygian Proserpina, the people of Eleusis, ancient Ceres, others Juno, others Bellona, some Hecate, again Rhamnusia; but the Aethiopians, on whom shine the growing rays of the sun at his birth, the Arians, and the Egyptians, mighty in their ancient learning, worship me with the proper rites and call me by my true name, Queen Isis.[1]

Such claims as this obviously led to no conflict with

[1] Apuleius, *Met.* xi. 5. Cf. the remarkable invocation of Isis published in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, xi. 1380.

polytheism, yet they helped to spread the belief that the divine was one.

Summary.

The conclusions to which the discussion has led may now be briefly stated.

At the beginning of the first century the Mediterranean world was unified by habits of thought and expression, and almost by language. Although Greek prevailed in the east and Latin in the west, the use of the former tongue by all educated men, and by many even of the humbler classes, made intercourse free wherever Roman, Syrian, Jew, and Greek might meet. Peace rendered travel secure, and thus contributed to the establishment of a cosmopolitan society in every large city.

Philosophy of every school had become primarily religious and moral. Although the several sects adapted themselves in various ways to popular polytheism, nevertheless most philosophic thought tended to regard the divine as one. The Platonic and Aristotelian schools supported a transcendental theology, while the Stoics held to the immanence of God; but it is clear that a compromise between these two theological extremes, or perhaps it would be more exact to say a combination of them, was already being made, whereby the immanent principle was made second to the transcendental. This can be seen in the philosophy of Philo; his chief *logos*, while directly descended from Plato's Absolute, apparently owed much also to the immanent *logos* of the Stoics. Thus the way was prepared for the theology of orthodox Christianity.[1]

The several ethical systems which the philosophic schools had developed agreed in fixing moral responsibility on the individual, and in their tenets agreed very largely with early Christian teaching. The training of the will to enforce the dictates of reason in the ordering of the individual life; the doctrine of gradual and daily advance in virtue toward moral perfection, which is

[1] The immanent character of the *logos* is expressly stated in the Prologue to the Gospel of John. Cf. Coloss. i. 15-17. On the other hand, Acts xvii. 28 puts the immanence of God in Stoic terms.

realised only in God; the belief that virtue is the sole and the certain source of happiness in this or any other world, were all consonant with Christianity. It is true that no philosophic system of ethics ever rose to the altruistic teachings of Jesus or taught that love was to extend to one's enemies. But the ethics taught by the Stoic and the other schools, with their emphasis on the individual life, formed a sound basis on which Christianity could build, and provided it with a body of doctrine which it could advantageously adopt. Moreover, the current philosophic systems taught their followers to have slight regard for the accidents of this life, to hold in small esteem wealth, place, and power, and even to be indifferent to sickness and death, in comparison with virtue; and by establishing the doctrine of individual responsibility they did valuable service to the coming religion. The Stoic cosmopolitanism and the doctrine of the natural equality of man, secured to each by his possession of a fragment of the divine Reason, were in harmony with a universal religion, which made no distinction between emperor or slave, citizen or stranger. Philosophy could become the servant of practical Christianity, because it had long ceased to be the property of the few, and was now concerned primarily with practice. The preacher and adept had become the recognised exponents of life.

The Greek mysteries had spread the belief that, through the emotional experiences of initiation and of ritual, a revelation of God and a union with the Divine was secured which brought the assurance of a happy immortality. The belief in metempsychosis, which Christianity could not accept, carried with it the principle of an absolute moral relation between life here and hereafter, as we can learn from Plato and from Vergil, not to speak of other sources. These beliefs were emphasised and reinforced by mystic philosophies and religions during the first four centuries of our era.

Taken together, these systems make up that Hellenistic life which for so long a time contended with the rival system of

Judaism. Neither ever conquered the other; but their fates were different. Judaism survives in two forms: changed, and in some ways purified, but still essentially the same, in the Synagogue; and radically altered, yet vigorously alive, in the literature, ethics, and hopes of Christianity. Hellenism, unlike its rival, has now no separate existence, but it, too, lives on; for it was the genius of Christianity to weld together into a new organic unity elements drawn primarily from Stoic ethics, from the later Platonic metaphysics, from Oriental mysticism, and from Roman administration, as well as from the faith and hope of Israel.

III

PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY

By The Editors

INTRODUCTION

Christianity a synthesis.

THE claim of Christianity to be a "faith once delivered to the Saints" cannot bear the scrutiny of the historian of religions. To him it appears not a single religion but a complex of many, justified in claiming the name of Christianity by reason of the thread of historic continuity which runs through and connects its component parts. That "*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*" can supply the answer to "What is Christianity?" is a vain conceit: its strict application would leave us without church, without worship, and without creed. For, like all religions when studied critically, Christianity is a process, not a result.

The task of this part of this volume is to discuss the initial stages of this process. The preceding parts have described the main features of two civilisations. Neither was simple, either in history or origin. Jewish civilisation may in many ways be regarded as a representative of Semitic civilisation, but it had varied from the main stock by adopting a strict monotheism and a severe code of ethics. Roman civilisation was originally a combination of Latin, Etruscan, and Greek elements; but in the days of the Empire Oriental thought and practice were being rapidly assimilated. The only Oriental cult permanently unwilling to be absorbed was official Judaism.[1]

[1] Rome probably first realised this refusal in the time of Caligula. The attempt to introduce the emperor's statue into the Temple is usually seen by modern historians through Jewish glasses as a mere brutality. More probably it was part of a well-considered plan to make use of the *συνέδρια* of Asiatic cults for the propagation of an imperial cultus, which, while recognising existing religions, should combine them in a higher unity. The only *συνέδριον* which refused was that of the Jews. See p. 199 ff.

The next step was extraordinary, but not incredible to the historian who has learned to recognise that sudden variation is a necessary element in evolution. A new movement arose in Judaism, claiming the authority of divine revelation. When cast out of the Jewish communion by the authorities of the Temple and the Synagogue it abandoned institutions, like circumcision, intolerable to the Roman world, and turning to the Gentiles, offered them a share in the hope of Israel. The people of the Levant accepted this offer far more readily than that of the Synagogue, but they interpreted it in accordance with their own thoughts rather than with its origin, thus starting a synthesis between Judaism and the Graeco-Oriental thought of the Empire.

In order to elucidate this synthesis, the first chapter of this part discusses the main features of the teaching of Jesus, as it appears in the light of synoptic criticism, and of the position of the Twelve during his ministry. The second chapter deals with the story of the disciples in Jerusalem and the spread of Christianity through the Roman Empire. The discussion of subordinate points is left to the commentary ; but the main problems presented by Acts are indicated in outline in order to make easier their recognition and detailed consideration in connection with the text. The third and fourth chapters take up the intellectual development of this period, and endeavour to trace the change from predominantly Jewish to predominantly Greek modes of thought.

I

THE PUBLIC TEACHING OF JESUS AND HIS CHOICE OF THE TWELVE

Purpose of Gospel of Mark.

The chief difficulty in determining the teaching of Jesus, or his purpose in choosing the Twelve, is that the only primary documents which we possess were not written in order to give this information, but to confirm the opinions of Gentile Christians. By far our best source as to the history of Jesus is the Gospel according to Mark, but it is strange how little we know of its origin. Papias and Irenaeus are our only early informants, but, except for a vague tradition that the Gospel is connected with Peter, they tell us nothing.[1] We are entirely dependent on internal evidence for our answers to the questions whether Mark is based on Aramaic documents or only on Aramaic oral tradition, and whether it was written in Jerusalem or Rome or elsewhere. It is, however, clear that it was composed partly to show that the deeds of Jesus during his ministry prove that he was the Messiah, though he never made the claim, and partly to indicate why he abandoned the Synagogue, organised the Twelve, and began a more extensive mission. In common with the other evangelists, Mark desires to explain the reason for the breach between the Church and the Synagogue, tracing it back to the

[1] The most probable view seems to be that the Gospel of Mark is in some way connected with a tradition which ultimately goes back to Peter, but it does not seem probable that the text of the Gospel is so directly connected with him as tradition suggests. It is difficult to think that any one who had actual intercourse with Peter could have been so ignorant of the meaning of Son of Man as the editor who produced our Gospel must have been.

beginning, and showing that it was due, not to any schismatic conduct on the part of Jesus and his followers, but to the rejection by the Jews of the Messiah whom they ought to have recognised in him, as his disciples had done, on the ground, not of his own assertion, but of the sufficient testimony of miracles, of demons, and of the divine voice from Heaven.

All this is invaluable to the historian, but its limitations must be recognised. It provides us with an early and authoritative statement of the evidence by which the first Greek-speaking Christians justified their own position; it is not the history of Jesus told for its own sake. Mark is far more a primary authority for the thought of the Apostolic Age than for the life of Jesus. We have, indeed, no better authority: but it must be taken for what it is.

Relation to Q, Matthew, and Luke.

For the teaching of Jesus, Mark can be supplemented by Matthew and Luke. It is now generally recognised that the framework of narrative which they contain is almost entirely derived from Mark. Thus far, therefore, they are secondary sources, and ought rather to be regarded as the earliest commentary on Mark. In adapting Mark they have sometimes blurred and confused his statements, though the changes introduced are often very important, as reflecting the mind of Christians. They have, however, added fragments of another tradition which gives the teaching rather than the life of Jesus, and is co-ordinate in value with Mark. It is the custom to refer to it as Q, but it must be remembered that Q is not an extant document, but represents the judgment of critics as to certain parts of Matthew and Luke. It is impossible to reconstruct it mechanically, and it is a mistake to attribute a so-called objective value to what is after all the result of subjective criticism. It is equally unsatisfactory to treat with veneration the coincidence of Matthew and Luke. We do not know, and probably we never shall know, whether they used one document or several in common, nor do we know with certainty whether Matthew had seen Luke or Luke had seen Matthew. Late as well as early sources may have been

used in common by them, and therefore it is well to remember that much subjective criticism is necessary in dealing with Matthew and Luke.

The good news in Mark.

One object of Mark is to prove that Jesus was the Messiah. The gospel is in fact the story of how the disciples discovered who Jesus actually was, and the author's interest is the same as that of the disciples in the early chapters of Acts, whose preaching was 'Jesus is the Messiah.' It is therefore all the more important that it is so definitely stated that Jesus did not announce the Messianic secret to the people, nor allow his disciples to do so until after the Resurrection, but dwelt on two themes: the speedy approach of the Kingdom of God, and the necessity of repentance. This was the 'good news' which men were called on to believe. In Q the presentation is more elaborate but substantially the same. The teaching of Jesus is the proclamation of the Kingdom of God and the need of repentance.

Meaning of the 'Kingdom of God.'

The questions important for the present purpose are therefore the meaning which the phrases "Kingdom of God" and "Repent" are likely to have had for Jesus or his hearers, the authority which he claimed, and the relation of his teaching on these subjects to the different forms of thought then existing among the Jews.

The Kingdom or Sovereignty of God.

The meaning of "Kingdom of God" or "Kingdom of Heaven" in the light of contemporary Jewish thought is a complex problem, which can only be rendered even relatively clear by a somewhat long historical exposition.

Nothing loomed larger in the thoughts of the Jews in the first century than the idea of the Sovereignty of God, or, to adopt the customary metonymy, the Kingdom of 'Heaven,' which is fundamental both with the Rabbis and in the Apocalyptic literature, though the exact phrase itself is found neither in the Old Testament nor in the Apocalypses.[1] This is somewhat

[1] The only reference in Charles's index (*Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. ii. p. 856) is 3 Bar. xi. 2 (Michael—who holds the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven), a very late and possibly Christian passage.

remarkable in view of the frequency with which reference is made in modern books to the Kingdom of Heaven, as though the words, made familiar to us in the Gospels, were themselves common in Jewish literature. In point of fact it seems that the Gospels give us the earliest example of their use.

Its origin and nature.

The origin of the conception, as distinct from the name, is to be found in the prophecies of the Old Testament which foretell the rule of Jehovah over the whole earth, in the light of which other prophecies are interpreted which speak of his rule without specifying its extent.

The general view is theocratic, and not—in the proper sense of the word—Messianic; for there is no such expectation of a Davidic king as is found in Isaiah xi. ("In that day there shall be a root of Jesse," etc.) and cognate passages. The hope expressed is for the universality of the religion, rather than the domination of the Kingdom of Israel. The universal recognition of the Sovereignty of God is still in the future, but it is also present now. That God reigns over all, but in a special sense over those who recognise his rule, is one of the favourite themes of the Psalms.[1] This point was taken also by the later Jews, and is often emphasised by the Rabbis. God's pre-eminence does not depend on the attitude of his own creatures, but it cannot be considered perfect till it is recognised by men. Thus, down to Abraham, it might be said, God reigns in Heaven only. By his faith, Abraham made him king on the earth too, for in him God had one subject; so also did Jacob at Bethel when he declared that Jahweh should be his God. But the reign of God was thus far confined to individuals, until at Sinai the Israelites said, "All that the Lord hath spoken, will we do and obey," and became a nation in which God reigned. The reign of God is thus, in the Old Testament, the Apocalyptic books, and the Rabbinical literature, a present reality, so far as he is owned and obeyed by individuals and by the people as a whole. The Jews not only hoped and prayed for this reign, but they lived under

[1] Cf. especially such Psalms as xciv., ciii., and cxl.

it, for its nature is not political but religious. They held that at the present time the Sovereignty of God is recognised only by Israel, imperfectly by it, and in different degrees by different individuals; but that in the future there will be a 'good time' in which the universal and complete Sovereignty of God will be acknowledged by all mankind and his revealed will obeyed perfectly.[1]

Sovereignty of God in the future.

This realisation of the Sovereignty of God over all the world was not expected to be the result of missionary enterprise, but of the self-determined act of God. Sometimes it is spoken of as being manifested, because, like all other good things, it has in reality always existed. The Sovereignty of God cannot be directly identified with any form of human government, like the reign of a 'Messianic' King, or with one period of time; but the very limited recognition of the Sovereignty of God among men at present compelled attention to the expectation that its universality could only be realised in the future. Thus the Good Time which was coming might easily be regarded as the Kingdom of Heaven—the condition of life being identified with the period of its realisation—and for those to whom the restoration of the monarchy was the chief feature of the Good Time,[2] the Days of the Messiah and the Kingdom of Heaven may have come to be interchangeable expressions. Similarly those who thought that this world, or this age, is coming to an end, to be followed by one in which God is to be supreme, may have identified the Kingdom of Heaven with the Age to Come.

Thus in the first century the attention of pious Jews was riveted on the Sovereignty of God or a Kingdom of Heaven, and on the coming of a Good Time when God would be realised and recognised. But in this complex of ideas the Sovereignty of God was the essential. Probably there were many degrees and variations of interest in the other points. There were

[1] Cf. Is. xlv. 23; Rev. xix. 6.

[2] There is no special technical term for this period. German writers refer to it as the *Heilzeit*, and modern English writers frequently darken counsel by calling it the Messianic Age.

doubtless Jews who looked forward more to the Sovereignty of God and the world to come than to the Good Time, and others to whom the restoration of national prosperity was of more interest than the End of the World and the New Age.

Hope of a monarchy in Israel.

There was also, to judge from the scanty evidence which we possess, a further division. The hope of the coming of the Good Time included a belief that in it the monarchy—whether regal or sacerdotal—would be restored; and with the expectation of the Age to Come was bound up a Resurrection of the Dead by which the righteous of past generations would be admitted to the new world.

The history of Israel sufficiently explains this variety of ideas. At all times the nation had looked forward to the Good Time of the future. In this indeed they were merely human; a belief that the future will be better than the present is universal. The inherent difference between modern and ancient thought in regard to the future is that, while we consider that the Good Time to Come depends on human effort, the piety of antiquity looked to its accomplishment by divine grace. The Rabbis differed among themselves as to whether Messiah [1] would come when the world was at its worst, or whether the righteousness of Israel would bring it about. If the nation, it was sometimes said, could keep but one Sabbath aright Messiah would come. But all were agreed that the Good Time would be brought about by a spontaneous act of divine grace. As to how it would come there was naturally uncertainty. When the vanished monarchy of David became the symbol of the ancient glory of Israel, the Good Time was conceived as under a prince of his house. In the Maccabean period the fact that the ruling house belonged to the tribe of Levi was reflected in the expectation of the coming of a King of this tribe to reign in the Good Time, in Jubilees and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, and in the 'Zadokite'

Monarchy to be either Levitical or Davidic.

[1] The idea of the Davidic King of the Good Time is, of course, quite ancient (cf. Is. xi., etc.), but the name "the Messiah" to describe him is not found before the Psalms of Solomon.

document of the Covenanters of Damascus. In other books, the date of which is not always clear, the picture of the Good Time is vivid and distinct, but there is no mention of any monarch at all whether Davidic or Levitic.

Davidic Messiah in Ps. Sol.

The purest example of the combination of the religious hope of the Sovereignty of God with the hope of the restoration of the monarchical rule of a son of David is the seventeenth Psalm of Solomon, which is so important that it is desirable to quote in full the apposite verses.[1]

Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their king, the son of David, in the time which thou, O God, knowest, that he may reign over Israel thy servant; and gird him with strength that he may break in pieces them that rule unjustly. Purge Jerusalem from the heathen that trample her down to destroy her, with wisdom and with righteousness. He shall thrust out the sinners from the inheritance, utterly destroy the proud spirit of the sinners, and as potter's vessels with a rod of iron shall he break in pieces all their substance. He shall destroy the ungodly nations with the word of his mouth, so that at his rebuke the nations may flee before him, and he shall convict the sinners in the thoughts of their hearts. And he shall gather together a holy people, whom he shall lead in righteousness; and shall judge the tribes of the people that hath been sanctified by the Lord his God. And he shall not suffer iniquity to lodge in their midst; and none that knoweth wickedness shall dwell with them. For he shall take knowledge of them, that they be all the sons of their God, and shall divide them upon the earth according to their tribes. And the sojourner and the stranger shall dwell with them no more. He shall judge the nations and the peoples with the wisdom of his righteousness. Selah.

And he shall possess the nations of the heathen to serve him beneath his yoke; and he shall glorify the Lord in a place to be seen of the whole earth; and he shall purge Jerusalem and make it holy, even as it was in the days of old. So that the nations may come from the ends of the earth to see his glory, bringing as gifts her sons that had fainted, and may see the glory of the Lord, wherewith God hath glorified her. And a righteous king and taught of God is he that reigneth over them; and there shall be no iniquity in his days in their midst, for all shall be holy and their king is the

[1] This translation is that of Ryle and James. In a few places it is possible that the text should be corrected in the light of O. von Gebhardt's researches; but none are important for the present purpose.

Lord Messiah.[1] For he shall not put his trust in horse and rider and bow, nor shall he multiply unto himself gold and silver for war, nor by ships shall he gather confidence for the day of battle. The Lord himself is his King, and the hope of him that is strong in the hope of God. And he shall have mercy upon all the nations that come before him in fear. For he shall smite the earth with the word of his mouth even for evermore. He shall bless the people of the Lord with wisdom and gladness. He himself also is pure from sin, so that he may rule a mighty people, and rebuke princes and overthrow sinners by the might of his word. And he shall not faint all his days, because he leaneth upon his God; for God shall cause him to be mighty through the spirit of holiness, and wise through the counsel of understanding, with might and righteousness. And the blessing of the Lord is with him in might, and his hope in the Lord shall not faint. And who can stand up against him? he is mighty in his works and strong in the fear of God. Tending the flock of the Lord with faith and righteousness; and he shall suffer none among them to faint in their pasture. In holiness shall he lead them all, and there shall no pride be among them that any should be oppressed. This is the majesty of the king of Israel, which God hath appointed to raise him up over the house of Israel, to instruct him. His words shall be purified above fine gold, yea, above the choicest gold. In the congregations will he judge among the peoples, the tribes of them that have been sanctified. His words shall be as the words of the holy ones in the midst of the peoples that have been sanctified. Blessed are they that shall be born in those days, to behold the blessing of Israel which God shall bring to pass in the gathering together of the tribes. May God hasten his mercy toward Israel! may he deliver us from the abomination of unhallowed adversaries! The Lord, he is our king from henceforth and even for evermore.

Good Time without monarch in Enoch.

In sharp contrast to this picture of the Good Time under a monarch is the section (chapters i.-xxxvi.) in the first part of Enoch, which was written at a different time and in a different spirit from the Similitudes. In this is a glowing description of the Good Time, but no reference to a king.

[1] The Greek text is *Χριστὸς κύριος*, which may mean 'Lord Messiah' or 'an anointed Lord.' Probably the original was 'the Lord's anointed.' An interesting parallel is Lam. iv. 20, when the Hebrew means ". . . the anointed of Jahweh has been taken in their pits, of whom we said, In his shadow we shall live among the nations." The LXX. translates this *Χριστὸς κύριος συνελήμφθη ἐν ταῖς διαφθοραῖς αὐτῶν*, and the Vulgate is "Christus dominus captus est in peccatis nostris." It need hardly be said that the anointed of the Lord in the original is Jehoiachim.

And then shall all the righteous escape, and shall live till they beget thousands of children, and all the days of their youth and their old age shall they complete in peace. And then shall the whole earth be tilled in righteousness, and shall be planted with trees and be full of blessing. And all desirable trees shall be planted on it, and they shall plant vines on it : and the vine which they plant thereon shall yield wine in abundance, and as for all the seed which is sown thereon each measure (of it) shall bear a thousand, and each measure of olives shall yield ten presses of oil. And cleanse thou the earth from all oppression, and from all unrighteousness, and from all sin, and from all godlessness ; and all the uncleanness that is wrought upon the earth destroy from off the earth. And all the children of men shall become righteous and all nations shall offer adoration and shall praise me, and all shall worship me. And the earth shall be cleansed from all defilement, and from all sin, and from all punishment, and from all torment, and I will never again send (them) upon it from generation to generation and forever. And in these days I will open the store chambers of blessing which are in heaven, so as to send them down ' upon the earth ' over the work and labour of the children of men. And truth and peace shall be associated together throughout all the days of the world and throughout all the generations of men.[1]

Both the Psalms of Solomon and Enoch i.-xxxvi. represent the Jewish idea of the Good Time of the future unmixed with the originally Persian belief in a Resurrection and the world to come, which so profoundly affected at least some Jewish circles, and are not concerned with the duration of the Good Time, or with the length of life allotted to the King or High Priest. There are expressions in some documents which, if taken literally, might imply that the Good Time was expected to be everlasting, but there is hardly so much as a suggestion that the original Jewish thought contemplated the possibility that either the King or his subjects would enjoy immortality.

Destruction of the world.

The Persian form of thought, on the contrary, looked forward to the destruction of the present world by fire, after which would come a new world purified from evil, and the righteous dead would rise to an enduring state of bliss. The influence of this doctrine can be seen in the later Jewish literature. The end of the age figures prominently in 4 Ezra, which is largely occupied

[1] The translation is taken from Charles's *Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*.

by a discussion of the condition of the Age to Come and of those who will be allowed to enter into it. Moreover, the same book in chapter vii. gives a short but invaluable statement of the relations which would subsist between the Good Time, the Days of the Messiah, the Judgment, Resurrection, and Age to Come. Unlike many Apocalypses it calls for little or no commentary.

For behold the days come, and it shall be when the signs which I have foretold unto thee shall come to pass. Then shall the city that now is invisible appear, and the land which is now concealed be seen. And whosoever is delivered from the predicted evils, the same shall see my wonders. For my Son the Messiah shall be revealed, together with those who are with him, and shall rejoice the survivors four hundred years. And it shall be, after these years, that my Son the Messiah shall die, and all in whom there is human breath. Then shall the world be turned into the primeval silence seven days, like as at the first beginnings; so that no man is left. And it shall be after seven days that the Age which is not yet awake shall be roused, and that which is corruptible shall perish. And the earth shall restore those that sleep in her, and the dust those that are at rest therein, and the chambers shall restore those that were committed unto them. And the Most High shall be revealed upon the throne of judgment; and then cometh the End, and compassion shall pass away, and pity be far off, and long suffering withdrawn; but judgment alone shall remain, truth shall stand, and faithfulness triumph, and recompense shall follow, and the reward be made manifest; deeds of righteousness shall awake, and deeds of iniquity shall not sleep. And then shall the pit of torment appear, and over against it the place of refreshment; the furnace of Gehenna shall be made manifest, and over against it the Paradise of delight. And then shall the Most High say to the nations that have been raised from the dead: Look now and consider whom ye have denied, whom ye have not served, whose commandments ye have despised. Look now, before you: here delight and refreshment, there fire and torments! Thus shall he speak unto them in the Day of Judgment; for thus shall the Day of Judgment be: A day whereon is neither sun, nor moon, nor stars; neither clouds, nor thunder, nor lightning; neither wind, nor rainstorm, nor cloud-rack; neither darkness, nor evening, nor morning; neither summer, nor autumn, nor winter; neither heat, nor frost, nor cold; neither hail, nor rain, nor dew; neither moon, nor night, nor dawn; neither shining, nor brightness, nor light, save only the splendour of the brightness of the Most High, whereby all shall be destined to see what has been determined for them. And its

duration shall be as it were a week of years. Such is my Judgment and its prescribed order; to thee only have I showed these things.[1]

The method which has been followed is plain: the Good Time is not identified with the Age to Come, but is limited to the present age, which is finite. The people of Israel enjoy four hundred years under the reign of King Messiah, who is called 'his son' by God, probably in allusion to Psalm ii.

Thus a combination was effected between the Jewish and Persian systems. But there does not seem to have been any officially fixed doctrine on these subjects; no other apocalypse gives so clear a picture as 4 Ezra, though Baruch is similar. It is also remarkable that the eschatological scheme in 1 Corinthians xv. and in Revelation xix. f. are much closer to that of 4 Ezra than to later Christian thought. Both in Paul and in Revelation the reign of Christ is limited in time, and in Revelation there is a general Resurrection after his reign followed by a 'new heaven and a new earth' corresponding to the 'Age to Come' of 4 Ezra.[2]

Rabbinic thought.

Among the Rabbis somewhat the same system probably obtained, though there is little direct evidence. The compilers of the Talmud were not much interested in eschatology.[3] When the Rabbis were speaking carefully they distinguished the Age to Come from the Days of the Messiah, which belonged to this Age, but when they were speaking loosely they used the phrase 'Age to Come' in the untechnical sense of the future generally, and then spoke of the Messiah as belonging to the Age to Come.

This digression has been necessary to show the possible

[1] This translation is taken from Charles's *Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, in which 4 Ezra is edited by G. H. Box.

[2] The main difference between 4 Ezra and 1 Corinthians and Revelation is that the Christian documents insert a special resurrection before the reign of Christ. Later Christians, being in the main Greeks to whom the Apocalyptic tradition was foreign, telescoped the two resurrections together.

[3] By far the most valuable and intelligible collection of the fragmentary evidence is that of J. Klausner, *Die messianische Vorstellungen des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter der Tannaiten.*

implications to a Jewish mind of the phrase 'The Kingdom of God.' The result is to show that the strict meaning is the Sovereignty or Reign of God; it does not definitely mean the Good Time, or the Days of the Messiah, or the Age to Come, but inasmuch as to the mind of a pious Jew the history of the future was to be the realisation and recognition of the Sovereignty of God, and at the same time would include both the Good Time and the Age to Come, it was easy for those whose minds dwelt on the means rather than on the end to make the Kingdom of God practically identical with the Good Time of the Days of the Messiah. Possibly others may have made it equivalent to the Age to Come, but of this there is no satisfactory evidence from Jewish sources.

'Kingdom of God' in the Gospels.

Moreover, the fact that the exact phrase the Kingdom of God or Kingdom of Heaven is not found earlier than the Gospels, though the idea represented by it in the Rabbinic literature is drawn from the Prophets, renders it impossible to say with certainty what the phrase must have meant in the Gospels, and to use this meaning for their interpretation. The only reasonable method is to interpret each passage in which it is found in accordance with its context.

The frequency of the phrase Kingdom of God or of Heaven in the Synoptic Gospels is the proof of its importance in the earliest period of Christianity. But if the passages in which it occurs be interpreted naturally in the light of their own context, three meanings can be discerned. In one group of passages the Kingdom is regarded as future: it is close at hand, and men must prepare for it. In a second group it is present: its nature is explained. In a third group it is a synonym for the Christian Church. The first two must be discussed here; the third later.

(1) Kingdom of God in the future.

In the Gospel according to Mark the majority of passages refer to the Kingdom of God as future. The opening announcement in i. 15, "The Kingdom of God is at hand," cannot be interpreted except as a reference to something which is not yet

present. The same may be said of ix. 1, "There are some of those standing here who shall not taste of death till they see the Kingdom of God come in power."

Similarly in passages which can almost certainly be attributed to Q the Kingdom of God is regarded as something which does not yet exist. This may be seen in Matthew viii. 11 (= Luke xiii. 29), "Many shall come from the East and from the West and lie down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the Kingdom of Heaven." So also in Matthew xxii. 2 ff. (= Luke xiv. 16 ff.), the parable of the king who gave a marriage feast for his son, the point of comparison is to something which is still future. The refusal of the guests is still going on—the Jews are turning a deaf ear to all appeals—but the room is not yet full.[1] The general impression is identical with that of the message of Mark i. 15, "The time is fulfilled, the Kingdom of God is at hand"—but it is not yet come.

The implication of these passages in Mark and Q is unmistakable, and it is not surprising that those who have begun to consider the problem of the meaning of "Kingdom of Heaven" from this end have insisted that such passages supply a fixed standard to which all others must be made to conform. Nevertheless in other passages the implication is equally plain that the Kingdom of God is a present reality. It is the Sovereignty of God the recognition of which is true religion.

(2) As a present reality.

It is, for instance, hard to interpret in any other way the "secret of the Kingdom of God" in Mark iv. 11, and still harder to explain the parable of the grain of mustard seed in Mark iv. 30. Similarly in Mark x. 14 the Kingdom of Heaven, which can be entered by the child-like, and belongs to them, is surely a present reality, not something which is still future. Nor can the Kingdom of God, from which the scribe in Mark xii. 34 was not far, be regarded as future: it was there already and he was

[1] It is clear that Matt. xxii. 2 is in the main identical with Luke xiv. 16 ff., but the difference in redaction is considerable, and it is quite possible that some of the peculiarly Matthaean details are quite late and reflect the attitude which began to identify the Kingdom and the Church.

near it; the reason for his being outside was in himself, not in the futurity of the Kingdom.

Kingdom of God in Q.

Once more the phenomena of Mark are repeated in Q. The Kingdom of God belongs already to the poor.[1] The advice, "Seek first the Kingdom of God," [2] would lose its significance if the Kingdom were not a present reality which could be found. Nor, to go outside passages found both in Matthew and Luke, could the Kingdom of God be aptly compared to treasure hid in a field or to a pearl of great price if it were still in the future. But if it be regarded as equivalent to the true religion which recognises God as King, these passages are all quite intelligible.

The relation of these meanings to each other.

All attempts, and they have been many and ingenious, to explain these two meanings of Kingdom of God by eliminating one of them have failed. Especially may this be said of the attempt to explain the references to the Kingdom of God as future by the theory that they are the later interpolations of Jewish Christians, for it is just this use of Kingdom of God which is the least characteristic of Jewish thought. The מלכות השמים of the Rabbis means essentially the Sovereignty of God, and the passages in Mark and Q which use *βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ* in this sense are far more correct from a strictly Jewish point of view than those which regard it as future. If only one of the two be Christian—as distinct from Jewish—it is the use of the phrase Kingdom of God in a future sense.

But it is unnecessary to choose between them. The sketch given above of the history of those forms of Jewish thought which may reasonably be regarded as cognate shows how easily the central notion of the present Sovereignty of God might be merged in the hope of a time when it would be universally recognised, so that the phrase might eventually come to mean the "Good Time" which was in store for Israel, or even the "Coming Age" when evil would cease to exist.

Clearly in the passages in which the Kingdom of God is regarded as future, the idea of the Sovereignty of God is merged

[1] Matt. v. 3; Luke vi. 20. [2] Matt. vi. 33; Luke xii. 31.

in the form of its manifestation. But does the writer in Mark or in Q, or did Jesus himself mean the Good Time, at the end of this Age, and if so did they picture it as the reign of a Davidic King? Or did they all, or any of them, mean the Age to Come? These questions have been singularly neglected by Christian scholars, chiefly because in the course of a few years the Gentile Church—and it is this, not Jerusalem, which is the mother of us all—forgot the difference between the two, and identified the Age to Come with the reign of Christ.

The Kingdom of God and the Age to Come.

In Mark the identification of the Kingdom of God with the Age to Come is very plain in the story of the man who asked what he should do to 'inherit eternal life.'[1] The answer of Jesus was that he should observe the commandments, sell all that he had and give to the poor. This grieved the man, for he was rich, and Jesus then said, "How hardly will those who have riches enter into the Kingdom of God." There can be no doubt that here Eternal Life and the Kingdom of God mean the same, and this raises the presumption that reference is made to the Age to Come, for it was then—not in the Days of the Messiah—that the Jews looked for eternal life. Moreover, the continuation of the narrative with the implied question of Peter, "Lo! we have left all and followed thee," leads up to an utterance of Jesus in which "this Time" and the "Age to Come" are contrasted, and those who have left everything for his sake are promised rewards in kind in this "Time" and eternal life in the Age to Come.

Similarly in Mark ix. 43 ff. "Life" and the "Kingdom of God" seem to be used interchangeably, and are contrasted with Fire and Gehenna. This seems to point to the Life of the Age to Come, and to be concerned with the final Judgment rather than with the Days of the Messiah.

A similar view suggests itself in Q, Matthew vii. 21:

Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father

[1] Mark x. 17 ff.

which is in heaven. Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name ? and in thy name have cast out devils ? and in thy name done many wonderful works ? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you : depart from me, ye that work iniquity.

Especially is this clear when Luke xiii. 22 ff. is compared :

Then one said unto him, Lord, are there few that be saved ? And he said unto them, Strive to enter in at the strait gate : for many, I say unto you, will seek to enter in, and shall not be able. When once the master of the house is risen up, and hath shut to the door and ye begin to stand without, and to knock at the door, saying, Lord, Lord, open unto us ; and he shall answer and say unto you, I know you not whence ye are. Then shall ye begin to say, We have eaten and drunk in thy presence, and thou hast taught in our streets. But he shall say, I tell you, I know not whence ye are ; depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God, and you yourselves thrust out. And they shall come from the east, and from the west, and from the north, and from the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God.

But neither in Mark nor in Q are there any passages which identify the Kingdom of God with the Days of the Messiah.

If discussion be limited strictly to passages in which the Kingdom of God is mentioned, far the most probable result is that in the Gospels it sometimes means the Sovereignty of God, regarded as a present reality, and sometimes means the Age to Come, in which the Sovereignty of God will be unhampered by evil. The preaching of Jesus was directed to impress men with the importance of recognising the present Sovereignty of God in order that they might live in the Age to Come.

Jesus and the Age to Come.

The real difficulty, if there be any, in accepting this conclusion, is not in any passages in Mark and Q dealing with the Kingdom or with the Son of Man, but with the "Davidic Messiah."

The Son of Man and the Messiah.

If Jesus thought of himself as 'Son of Man,' no obstacle is presented to the conclusion reached above. Though the subject is obscure, the Son of Man, in the Jewish Apocalypses which

refer to him, is concerned with the judgment which comes between the two Ages. This fits in admirably with such passages as Mark ix. 43 ff., and still better with Luke xiii. 23 ff., when the background of the day of judgment is clearly indicated. On the other hand, the anointed Scion of the House of David, under whose guidance Israel will again enjoy prosperity, does not so well suit a reference to the Age to Come. This is not because the Days of the Messiah could not be described as the Kingdom of God, but because the connotation of Kingdom of God in Mark and Q—especially the references to eternal life—fits the Age to Come better than the Days of the Messiah.

Did Jesus claim Messiahship?

The old question, therefore, again presents itself, whether Jesus identified himself with the Davidic Messiah, or with the Son of Man who would judge the world and usher in the Age to Come?

Jesus seems to have referred openly to the coming of the Son of Man, though the extent to which he did so is an obscure problem, but he clearly did not openly identify himself with this Son of Man. The disciples undoubtedly made this identification, and possibly Jesus may have done so himself in private, but no passage in which his use of the title Son of Man is beyond critical doubt would be interpreted as claiming the name for himself unless the secret of his Messiahship were already known. The same thing is true of the identification of Jesus with the Davidic Messiah. This was the belief of the disciples: it may have been, but probably was not, the belief of Jesus: it was not part of his 'gospel,' though it was the centre of theirs.

Repentance and the Age to Come.

The practical meaning of 'Repent' in the teaching of Jesus was probably the same in his mind and that of his Jewish contemporaries—a change of conduct. Of course this does not mean that change of conduct is antithetical to change of heart; but the latter is assumed rather than emphasised. The standard required by Jesus, as by the Scribes, was the Law, strengthened

and simplified by the principles which it reveals rather than complicated by traditional interpretation. The command not to kill reveals the principle which forbids anger. "It was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment: but I say unto you, That whosoever is angry with his brother shall be in danger of the judgment: and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire." [1] The command against adultery reveals the principle which forbids lust. "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery: But I say unto you that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart." [2] This is in no sense the abandonment of the Law, and explains what Jesus meant when he warned his disciples that their righteousness must exceed that of the Scribes and Pharisees.

The central thought is a standard of conduct in harmony with the 'Age to Come' rather than with the present. Everything, whether possessions or thoughts, incompatible with the life of the 'Age to Come' must be abandoned. "If thy hand offend thee, cut it off: it is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands to go into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched. And if thy foot offend thee, cut it off: it is better for thee to enter halt into life, than having two feet to be cast into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched. And if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out: it is better for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched." [3]

The clearest statement of Jesus is his answer to the question

[1] Matt. v. 21-22. This seemed so hard to later Christians that they added to the text—"Whoever is angry *without a cause*," thus taking all point out of the command. Whoever justified uncalled-for anger? We may know little of the teaching of Jesus, but it was certainly free from platitudes.

[2] Matt. v. 27-28.

[3] Mark ix. 43-48; cf. Matt. v. 29 ff.

of what is requisite to inherit 'eternal life':[1] observe the commandments, sell all your possessions for the poor, and follow me. The meaning is plain beyond the possibility of confusion, and its perfect clearness, not any obscurity in it, was the reason why the rich man stayed behind and did not follow Jesus up to Jerusalem. Appalled by the simple severity of the teaching, the disciples asked, "Who then can be saved?" and Jesus, admitting the apparent impossibility of salvation, appealed to the infinite power of God. It would seem that the teaching of Jesus was in this respect far more in agreement with 4 Ezra than with the belief of many Christians to-day. Jesus, like Ezra, thought that very few enter into life; for the gate of life is narrow, and though many strive to enter, few will be able to do so.[2] "For broad is the gate, and wide is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many are they who enter through it; for strait is the way that leadeth unto Life, and few are they that find it." In merciful hope for their fellow-men, modern Christians have been inclined to transpose the characteristics of these two ways. But the evidence of the Gospels is quite clear; Jesus looked for few to follow him or to attain Life, either in this world or in the World to Come.

Life attained by few.

What, then, was the authority which Jesus claimed for his teaching? It was not that he was the Messiah, for whether he did or did not think that this was the function to which he was called, he did not so teach in public.[3] The authority which he actually claimed was that of the spirit of God. This statement is not so simple as it seems. It divides into two factors: the experience itself and the opinion expressed as to its origin.

Jesus claims the Spirit of God.

The experience continued among his disciples and formed the vital as distinct from the intellectual bridge between Judaism and Graeco-Oriental thought. Nor was it unique: it can be traced throughout human history. Expressed in modern

Experience of the Spirit.

[1] Mark x. 17. [2] Luke xiii. 24.

[3] See W. Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis*, and Bousset's *Kyrios Christos*, pp. 79-82.

language, it is a man's consciousness that his action and speech are being governed by a compelling force, separate from the ordinary process of volition. Those who have this experience seem to themselves to be as it were the spectators of their own deeds, or to be listening to their own utterances. Under its influence individuals, groups of men, or even nations are carried away by inexplicable waves of passion or enthusiasm which, once aroused, cannot be resisted till their force is spent. This consciousness has been felt in varying degree in every generation, and the progress of humanity can never be explained unless it be taken into account. Sometimes in the inevitable reaction after the psychic stress of such experiences, men have resented, doubted, or denied the validity of their own consciousness; sometimes they have regarded it as possessing a value exceeding all else in life. Usually those who have it attract the hostility of their contemporaries, scarcely tempered by the allegiance of a few followers, and their names are forgotten in a few years, but sometimes the verdict of contemporary hatred is reversed by posterity, which endeavours to compensate by legendary honours for the contempt and contumely of life.

It is as clear to-day as when the Gospels were written that Jesus belonged in a pre-eminent degree to those who have this experience. But it by no means follows that we can explain it in the same way as did the ancient world. In the preceding paragraph the experience itself has been described in periphrasis without expressing any judgment as to its cause. The ancient world defined it as inspiration by the Holy Spirit or by the Spirit of God, and in so doing implied a definite theory of psychological phenomena—that of possession by good or bad spirits. By this means not merely prophecy, but sickness, madness, and crime were explained.

The Spirit in ancient Israel.

In ancient Israel the spirit of Jehovah was looked on as the explanation of all that was unusual or awful. Probably in the earliest days good and evil spirits alike were supposed to come from Jehovah. But long before the Christian era a far more

complicated system of thought had gained universal supremacy. The Jews had completely accepted the Persian view of a spirit world, though they had elaborated some of the details in special ways. They held that among the living beings in the universe are an infinite number of spirits, some the beneficent agents of God, some the malignant emissaries of Satan. Moreover, the latter were reinforced by the ghosts of the giants who had perished in the Noachian flood,[1] for the giants had been half-angelic, half-human, and their evil ghosts wandered about the world taking possession of men and inflicting on them disease and other evils. But men were not left without help in an unequal combat with these malignant spirits. Just as they could be possessed by unclean spirits, so also could they be inspired by the Holy Spirit of God, and in the end good would triumph over evil. It would be natural to expect that just as the evil spirits were regarded as personal and as many, so there would be many holy spirits, but in point of fact there is little trace of this development. The Holy Spirit which inspires prophets is almost always one. There were, indeed, many angels who did the will of God, and sometimes the spirit which comes from God is so far personified as to be almost or quite identified with an angel;[2] but this is not the general rule, and more often the Holy Spirit is an emanation from God, single and impersonal.

The Spirit in the Synoptists.

In the synoptic tradition this hypothesis of the spirit of God, which possesses men for good and works his will through them, is used to explain the experience and the deeds of Jesus. He waged incessant warfare against evil spirits, who recognised in him a power superior to their own. Whether greater or less credence be given to the details of the historian, there can be no doubt but that at the baptism Jesus was conscious of becoming possessed by some power external to himself, which he identified with the spirit of God. It was by this that he wrought his

[1] Cf. especially Enoch vi.-xvi.

[2] Perhaps the clearest example of this is in the Ascension of Isaiah, where the Holy Spirit and Jesus are the two great angels in the seventh heaven; but of course this document is Christian rather than Jewish.

wonderful cures and triumphed over the demons of disease and madness. Whether he thought that in consequence of, or in addition to, this inspiration he was the Son of Man, or the Son of David, or had a right to any other special title or function is open to doubt. But it is certain that he claimed to act and to speak in the power of the Spirit of God. When his adversaries endeavoured to explain his acts as due to possession by a demon, he stigmatised them as blaspheming the Holy Spirit. It is noticeable, however, that in this indirect way even those who rejected Jesus recognised in him the phenomena of inspiration. Their judgment of fact was the same as his own—he was possessed by a spirit; the difference lay in their judgment of value—it was an evil, not a holy spirit. Similarly, too, though his family rejected his claims, they recognised that his experience was abnormal, for when they said ἐξέστη—he is beside himself—they were passing in a more general form the same verdict as the Pharisees, for madness was always explained as obsession, though presumably it required the learning of scribes from Jerusalem to see that this case of possession, which cured others, was so serious as to be diagnosed as the work of Beelzebub himself.

If, therefore, we attempt to reconstruct the impression which the preaching of Jesus probably made on one of his hearers in Galilee outside the intimate circle of the Twelve, it would be: "He tells us that the New Age is close at hand in which God's Sovereignty will be supreme. He warns us to repent that we may have life in the Coming Age, and explains the nature of God's Sovereignty. He is a prophet, and unlike the scribes he does not appeal to tradition, but he does not talk about himself."

Jesus and his Jewish contemporaries.

In what way did the teaching of Jesus differ from that of his contemporaries? Not—and the nature of much modern writing renders it desirable to emphasise the negative—not by teaching anything about God essentially new to Jewish ears. The God of Jesus is the God of the Jews, about whom he says nothing which cannot be paralleled in Jewish literature. Nor

was it in his doctrine as to the Kingdom of Heaven that Jesus differed markedly from other Jewish teachers. Many Rabbis, then and afterwards, were inspired by the vision of the Age to Come, and awed by the difficulty of attaining it.

The differences which are important concern three subjects of vital and controversial interest—resistance to the oppressors of Israel, the fate of the People of the Land, and the right observance of the Law. On the first point he conflicted with the tendency to rebellion which ultimately crystallised into the patriot parties of the Jewish war in A.D. 66; on the second and third he conflicted with the Scribes.

(1) Non-resistance to oppressors.

From the days of the census, when Judas of Galilee started an abortive rebellion, there had always been those among the Jews who refused to recognise the supremacy of Rome, and contemplated with approval plans of armed resistance. It is the fashion to call them the Zealots, but, strictly speaking, there were no Zealots before 66, and Josephus merely calls them "the Fourth Philosophy."[1] This patriotic party is not mentioned by name in the Gospels, but much of the teaching of Jesus becomes intelligible only when placed against the background which it supplies. "But I say to you which hear, Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you. To him that smiteth thee on the one cheek offer also the other and from him that taketh away thy cloak, withhold not thy coat also. Give to every man that asketh of thee, and of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again. And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise. And if ye love them which love you, what thank have ye? For sinners also love those that love them. And if ye do good to them that do good to you, what thank have ye? For sinners also do the same. . . . But love ye your enemies. . . ." The mind of the editor of the gospel as he copied these sentences out of his source was doubtless fixed on the sufferings and persecutions endured

[1] See Appendix A.

by Christians; but to the mind of the Galilean who first heard them they must have seemed to be the direct opposite of the patriotic teaching of the school of thought started by Judas of Galilee, and to be deliberately intended as an alternative to it.

It is true that we do not hear anything directly of the opposition of Jesus to this party. It can hardly be doubted that if the hypothesis here presented be true, it would account for the failure of Jesus to convince any large part of the Galilean population. It accounts for his leaving even the less populous parts of the country, and for the secrecy which appears to have attended his journey when he went through Galilee on his way to Jerusalem; for Galilee was essentially patriotic, far more so than Judaea, which in the time of Jesus was still under the influence of the Scribes and priests, whose resistance to Rome was essentially passive. Why then is there not more mention of this side of the background of the teaching of Jesus? The answer appears to be that just as in the Talmud the sayings of Rabbis are given without historic context, so also in Q the sayings of Jesus were usually related without incidents which had called them out. Moreover, by the time the Gospels were written, and in the districts in which they were composed, the patriotic party of Galilee was no longer existing. Whatever may be the date or place of the composition of the Greek Gospels—not of the Aramaic sources—they belong to a generation for whom controversy with the Scribes was still a living issue. Therefore the speeches of Jesus against the Scribes are recorded, and anything which can be said to their detriment is emphasised. But, except for the final scene in Jerusalem, the priests and the Sadducees are scarcely mentioned, because they played no part in the life of the Christian generation which produced the Gospels. For exactly the same reason there is no description of a controversy with the "patriots," and we should know nothing about it were it not that some of the things which Jesus said in this connection were cherished by Christians in a new context provided by their own sufferings and persecutions.

The question is sometimes asked whether such teaching is really consistent with the violent cleansing of the Temple. The true answer is probably not to be found in any ingenious harmonisation, but rather in accentuating the fact that the "non-resistent" teaching in the Sermon on the Mount deals with the line of conduct to be observed towards foreign oppressors and violence from without. The sacerdotal money-changers and sellers of doves in the Temple were not the "oppressors of Israel." Israel was called on to suffer under Roman rule, and the righteous to endure violence at the hands of the wicked, for that was the will of God, who in his own good time would shorten the evil days. But the manipulation of the sacrificial system as a means of plundering the pious was a sin of Israel itself, against which protest and force were justified. What the heathen and the wicked do is their concern and God's, but the sins of Israel are Israel's own; against them the righteous in Israel may execute judgment.

(2) Attitude towards the People of the Land.

The attitude of Jesus towards the People of the land was more sharply opposed to that of the Scribes in practice than in principle. He offered the opportunity of entering into the Kingdom of God to publicans and sinners. The fact is undisputed, but without qualification is liable to misconstruction. It did not mean a lower, but a higher requirement of morality than the Scribes asked for. He called upon publicans and sinners to repent, and the standard of life which he required was not less "righteous" than that of the Pharisees, but it could be obtained rather by attention to principles than by careful study of detail.

No Rabbi would have said that sinners and Publicans were excluded from the Kingdom of Heaven if they repented; but repentance in the eyes of the Rabbis seems in practice to have included an extreme and meticulous attention to the details of the Law, such as rendered repentance impossible to ordinary, badly educated men. There is much for scholars to admire in the Rabbinical teaching of the Law. At its best it is the recognition that Knowledge is one of the roads which leads

to Life; but at its worst it is, as Jesus said, the "tithing of mint and anise and cummin": the prostitution of life to learning.

(3) Jesus and the Law.

The attitude of Jesus to the Law has been sufficiently described above; he accepted it as the basis of righteousness. According to himself, he demanded a higher standard than the Scribes; according to the Scribes he was destroying the Law. The difference was one of interpretation, and can best be understood by his treatment of the Law on the Sabbath and on Divorce.

(a) The Sabbath.

The difficulty of a strict observance of the Sabbath was the cause of many discussions among the Rabbis, and the Pharisees had introduced many rules intended to make it easier.[1] But, as always happens with attempts to remedy oppressive legislation by amendment rather than abolition, these Pharisaic efforts resulted only in making the yoke of the Sabbath heavier. Jesus went to the heart of the matter by appealing from the letter of the Law to its purpose, and defined this as the advantage of man: "The Sabbath was for man's sake" (ἐγένετο διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον). It is remarkable how little notice has been given to the difficulty of reconciling this statement with that of Genesis and Exodus,[2] which make the Sabbath a commemoration of the Rest of God rather than an institution for the benefit of man. Nor would a lawyer readily admit the right of an individual to interpret legislation by its original object rather than by the letter of its meaning. Nevertheless, however difficult of application it may be, the verdict of Jesus remains unshaken in principle, not merely on the Sabbath, but on all other laws. Their moral claim to allegiance is ultimately based on their advantage to men; and the supreme duty of legislators is to test the code entrusted to them by this standard.

(b) Divorce.

Jesus' treatment of marriage and divorce illustrates the same principle, though its application in his hands led to different results. According to Mark[3] he excluded divorce altogether on the ground that a man and his wife were created as "one

[1] See above, p. 115. [2] It is, however, in accord with Deut. v. 12.
[3] Mark x. 1-12.

flesh," and that the Mosaic permission to divorce was due to sin and not to the original plan of man's creation. The same absolute prohibition of divorce is found also in Q.[1] In the Matthaean version, however, both of Q and of the Marcan narrative, an exception "save for the cause of fornication" is introduced; it cannot well be original, and is probably due to the practical difficulties encountered by the early Church. The best illustration of these is the famous treatment of divorce in the *Shepherd of Hermas*.[2]

It may seem at first sight strange that Jesus relaxed the law of the Sabbath, and not that of divorce; but in each case he was appealing to their original meaning and relation to human life. Nor can it be doubted that perfected humanity is as little likely to need divorce to mitigate unsatisfactory marriages as it is to identify rest with inaction.

Re-interpretation of the Law.

These are the clearest examples of Jesus' treatment of the Law. It was not an antinomian abrogation, such as the Jewish Christians attributed to Paul, nor was it a rigid adhesion to its letter, such as the Sadducees advocated. It was similar to its treatment by the Pharisees in so far as it was "re-interpretation"; but it was of a wholly different type. The Pharisaic "re-interpretation," which is a phenomenon common in all ages, endeavoured, consciously or unconsciously, to modify the Law, while appearing to affirm it. Their treatment was based on two facts—they could not fulfil the letter of the Law, but they desired to seem to do so. It therefore introduced a chain of subtle modifications and explanations, each small in itself, which taken together sometimes reverses the meaning of the Law *ex animo scriptoris*. The treatment of Jesus,[3] on the other

[1] Matt. v. 32 = Luke xvi. 18.

[2] See Hermas, *Mand.* iv. and cf. the *Expositor*, Nov. 1910 and Jan. 1911.

[3] The attitude of Jesus to this method of re-interpretation is seen in his denunciation of it in Mark vii. 1 ff., dealing with the ceremonial Law. His own interpretation was that the purpose of the Law was to avoid defilement, which is the result, not of food, but of evil thought and bad conduct. The comment of the Evangelist, if the text of ℵB be correct, is, "This he said, making clean all food." It is interesting that Luke omits this section. Is it

hand, was based on the mind of the divine author of the Law. When the letter of the Law interfered with instead of furthering the purpose for which it was written, it was the purpose not the letter which took precedence ; and inasmuch as this purpose was the benefit of mankind, a principle incontestably correct, though undoubtedly difficult, was laid down. In general no one doubts but that the final test of formularies appealing to the intellect is whether they are true, and of those relating to conduct whether they are righteous ; but in detail the obscurity which surrounds truth and righteousness frightens men into substituting some easier way for that of Jesus. But here, too, the saying is true that "Narrow is the way that leads to Life."

Marcan account of Jesus.

According to Mark, Jesus, unlike John the Baptist,[1] began his ministry not in the desert, but in the towns of Galilee. John went into the wilderness, and the people came to him : Jesus came out of the wilderness and went to the people.[2] On his way along the shore of the Lake of Galilee he called Peter and

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because its retention renders the vision to Peter in Acts x. 9 ff. somewhat of an anticlimax, and is far more radical than the Apostolic decrees, if these were intended as a food law ? It is, however, noticeable that Matthew, who reproduces the main part of the section, omits *καθαρίζων πάντα τὰ βρώματα*. It is therefore possible that these words are a "secondary feature" in our Mark, and reflect the opinion of a Gentile Christian who has lived through the Judaistic controversy. Or did Peter relate this story, with this comment, as justifying his attitude to Gentile converts ?

[1] John the Baptist (see p. 101) seems to belong to the "centrifugal" type of Judaism, together with the therapeutae and the Covenanters of Damascus ; he made the desert his abode and avoided the synagogues. Cf. p. 83.

If, however, Mark ii. 18, which describes the disciples of John and the Pharisees as fasting, refers to the towns or villages of the Sea of Galilee, as the reference to the custom-house in the context suggests, and if it be a part of the genuine tradition, the disciples of John had already given up the habits of their leader by the beginning of the ministry of Jesus, were settled in the towns, and followed the Pharisaic tradition. From the literary point of view the passage is clearly part of Mark, but there is room for doubt whether it may not be part of early Christian controversy which was transferred to the story of the life of Jesus, though from the nature of the case such doubts can never be substantiated, and ought not to be given undue prominence.

[2] From the Jewish point of view the procedure of John was the more calculated to suggest Messianic claims.

Andrew[1] and the sons of Zebedee[2] to follow him. They then went to Capernaum, where was Peter's house,[3] and Jesus made this town the centre of his work but moved from time to time throughout the district, preaching in the synagogues,[4] announcing that the Kingdom of God was at hand, calling on men to repent, healing the sick, and forgiving sin.

The claim to forgive sin and his teaching as to the Sabbath caused a rupture between Jesus and the Synagogue,[5] and he began a longer ministry throughout the northern part of Palestine.[6] Finally he returned south and went to Jerusalem. It can scarcely be accidental that immediately after the account of the rupture with the Synagogue at Capernaum there follows the appointment of the Twelve.

'The Twelve.'

What the mission of the Twelve was is only indicated briefly and vaguely in Mark iii. 14: "He 'made' twelve, to be with him, and for him to send them to proclaim and to have authority to cast out demons." The translation of κηρύσσειν by 'preach' in the English version is unfortunate: the word means to proclaim or herald, and the early Christian message, unlike preaching in the modern sense, was essentially a proclamation, whether it referred to the coming of Jesus, to the duty of repentance, or

[1] Mark i. 16 ff. [2] Mark i. 19 ff.

[3] John i. 44 (cf. John i. 43) says that Andrew and Peter belonged to Bethsaida, and that they were called by Jesus at Bethany in Peraea, before he went into Galilee; but this is irreconcilable with Mark's explicit statement which there is no reason to reject. On the topography of Capernaum, besides the usual books, see especially the article by Dr. Sanday in the *J.T.S.*, October 1903.

[4] Cf. Mark i. 38 ff., ii. 1, ii. 13, iii. 1.

[5] Mark iii. 6; cf. F. C. Burkitt, *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, p. 80 ff.

[6] It will probably always remain impossible to reconstruct the route followed by Jesus. J. Wellhausen in his *Einleitung in die drei erste Evangelien* has produced plausible but not completely convincing arguments for the existence of "doublets" in Mark. On the other hand, F. C. Burkitt in his *Transmission of the Gospel* has shown, with about the same degree of plausibility, that Mark can be interpreted as the record of a continuous journey beginning in Capernaum and ending in Jerusalem. A third possibility, which is perhaps supported—if support it be—by the opinion of Papias, is that Mark did not intend to give a continuous narrative, but strung together such typical and striking incidents as he knew, with no special regard for chronology.

to the future coming of the Kingdom and the Judgment of God.[1]

A somewhat fuller account is given in Mark vi. 7 ff., which, as it stands, records a special mission of the Twelve, but may conceivably be a doublet[2] of the story of their appointment.

> And he called the Twelve and began to send them out two by two, and he gave them authority over the unclean spirits, and he enjoined on them to take nothing for the road, except only a stick, —no bread, no bag, no money in the belt, but shod with sandals. And do not wear two garments. And he said to them, "Wherever you go into a house, stay there until you leave the place. And whatever place receive you not and they do not listen to you, leave it and shake off the dust from under your feet as a testimony to them." And they went forth and proclaimed that men should repent; and they cast out many demons, and anointed with oil many sick, and cured them.

The Kingdom of God not the Church.

At this point it might be possible to supplement the Marcan account of the mission of the Twelve by the narratives in Matthew and Luke, but some of these expand the Marcan account without making any real addition, and others seem more probably—though the point is uncertain—to reflect missionary instructions given by some branch of the early Church rather than by Jesus, so that they can be more appropriately discussed later.

The most remarkable feature of the Marcan evidence is that it gives no support to the view that Jesus intended to found a Church separate from that of the Jews. The Kingdom of God of which he spoke was either the Good Time to which the Jews looked forward, or the Sovereignty of God, or the Coming Age (the עולם הבא). It was not an organisation for the stimulation

[1] From a comparison with vi. 12, the emphasis in this case would seem to be on repentance, though it is probable that the full content of the κήρυγμα is intended to be that of Jesus himself as related in Mark i. 15: "The time (in the sense of 'the Age') is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is at hand; repent ye and believe the good news."

[2] The main point in favour of this view is that in Mark vi., as in Mark iii., the general situation is that of rejection of the Synagogue followed by a mission elsewhere and the selection of the Twelve. It is noticeable that Luke omits this incident, or rather adopts another version of it which he puts at the very beginning of the ministry of Jesus.

and control of worship. Nor can the exhortation to repent be regarded as identical with a call to join a new society; it was rather the reiteration of the old prophetic appeal to the Chosen People to turn to the Lord while he may be found. Not merely were the Twelve not sent during this period to proclaim Jesus as Messiah; they were forbidden to make public the secret which was afterwards to be the gospel of the Christian Church. They were preachers of repentance and the Kingdom of God, not of a Messiah or of a new society based on the Messianic claims of Jesus. Therefore they cannot yet have been regarded, or have regarded themselves, as the pillars of a new organisation.

Original hope of the disciples

Their real thoughts may perhaps be expressed in a significant passage found both in Matthew xix. 28 and in Luke xxii. 30: "Ye shall sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel." The fact that this passage belongs to the oldest part of the non-Marcan tradition gives great importance to its testimony, and at least shows that the earliest Christian tradition ascribed an eschatological significance to the functions of the Twelve. But whether the words are really those of Jesus himself may be doubted. In Mark x. 28 the answer to the implied question of Peter, "Lo! we have left all and followed thee," seems scarcely consistent with such a promise, and the manner in which this answer is treated by Matthew is very significant. In Mark the answer of Jesus is, "There is no one who has left home, or brothers, or sisters, or mother, or father, or children, or lands, for my sake and for the 'good news' who shall not receive a hundredfold now in this time,—houses, and brothers, and sisters, and mothers, and children, and lands, with persecutions,[1] and in the age to come life everlasting. But many first shall be last, and the last first." This passage is quite in accord with the Jewish expectation of the 'Days of the Messiah' at the

[1] Many edifying remarks have been made on this "with persecutions"; but it is hard to see any satisfactory meaning in it, and it may be merely a very early reflection of Christian experience; unless indeed it is misplaced and should follow 'lands' in the description of the sacrifice made by the Christian believer rather than in the promise of reward.

end of 'this Age,' and the future 'Age to Come';[1] indeed, it can scarcely be explained except by reference to them. Is it consistent with the definite promise that the Twelve should judge Israel? Matthew apparently did not think that it was, for though he brings the two passages together,[2] he distinguishes between the promise to the Twelve of the thrones of judgment, which he makes the direct answer to Peter and takes from Q, and the general promise of reward to those who had given up family or property, which he takes from Mark. The typical Jewish distinction between the reward in kind in this Age, which included the Days of the Messiah, and eternal life in the Age to Come, is imperfectly observed, and the reward in kind as well as the promise of eternal life is placed in the 'Regeneration' (*παλιγγενεσία*), an obscure phrase which probably is the equivalent of the 'Age to Come,' though the point is not entirely certain.

Moreover, it is doubtful whether the promise of thrones at the Judgment is quite consistent with the refusal to foretell the future position of the sons of Zebedee, which is in complete accord with the Marcan answer to Peter. Indeed, the apparent meaning of the Marcan narrative is that on the journey to Jerusalem, first Peter, and afterwards the sons of Zebedee, asked what would be their reward; in each case Jesus refused to answer in the spirit of his questioners or exactly to foretell the future in detail.

The promise of the 'twelve thrones' at the Judgment.

It is therefore open to doubt whether the promise of the thrones at the Judgment really was made by Jesus. Nevertheless its presence in Q shows that it belongs to a very early form of Christian tradition. This is corroborated in a curious manner by the narrative in Acts of the behaviour of the community of believers with regard to the breach in the number of the Twelve caused by the deaths of Judas and of James the son of Zebedee. In the place of Judas the disciples selected one of their number

[1] Cf. Klausner, *Die messianische Vorstellungen des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter der Tannaiten.*

[2] Matt. xix. 27 ff.

(and scriptural proof is alleged by the writer to justify their action), because Judas had forfeited his place; he could no longer sit on his throne at the Judgment of God. But in the case of James no attempt was made to fill the vacancy, because in the strictest sense there was no real vacancy to fill; he was dead, but nevertheless he would judge the tribe allotted to him. Whether this is the line of thought underlying the narrative in Acts cannot be fully demonstrated, but it is at least consistent with the facts, and explains, as nothing else seems to do, why a successor was appointed to Judas, but not to James. Had the Twelve been regarded as the 'governing body' of the Church, it would have been natural to fill up vacancies in it. But this was never done except in the case of Judas; as a matter of fact the whole point of the early Christian doctrine of Apostolic succession is that the "successors" were not, and never could be, members of the 'College of the Twelve.'

Thus the general conclusion from the witness of Mark and of the earliest non-Marcan tradition is that the Twelve were appointed by Jesus to represent him in delivering to the people his message of the approach of the Kingdom and of the need of repentance. In the mind of the Christian community, if not in that of Jesus, it was held that they would be assessors with him in the judgment over the tribes of Israel. There is no suggestion that they were to be the heads of a Church distinct from that of the Jews, or that they should announce anything concerning Jesus—for instance, that he was the Messiah—or baptize in his name.

II

THE DISCIPLES IN JERUSALEM AND THE RISE OF GENTILE CHRISTIANITY

By The Editors

Gospels and Acts.

There are two collections of documents important for the history and thought of the disciples in Jerusalem and the rise of Gentile Christianity. One is the Synoptic Gospels and Acts; the other is the Pauline epistles. The latter is probably the earlier; the former the more primitive. Both belong to Gentile Christianity, but both have points of contact with the Jewish Church. The Gospels and Acts were probably edited by, and certainly intended for, Gentile Christians: but they are based on the Aramaic traditions of Jewish Christianity. Moreover, they were written by men who were trying to reproduce the history of the past in order to justify their own opinions. They are therefore more primitive than the date at which they were written—whatever that may be. Their value is twofold, partly as the oldest extant record of events, partly as representing the opinion of their editors. This is sometimes described as "tendenziös"; but it has often been forgotten, especially by English writers, that the "tendenz" is itself a factor in history.

Pauline Epistles.

The Pauline epistles, on the other hand, look forward and not back: whether they were all written by Paul or not, they certainly are animated by the wish to mould the future by an appeal to religion and its doctrinal explanation rather than to history. The historical data in the epistles, except for Paul's own life, are very few, though their importance is great. The impossibility

in some cases and the difficulty in others of reconciling them to Acts is analogous to the divergences between Luke and Mark, and cautions us against trusting too implicitly to the narrative of Acts.

Acts as main authority for primitive Christianity.

Thus the main authority for the history of the disciples in Jerusalem is the first part of Acts, which seems, however, to present not so much a single picture as a series of glimpses. It can be supplemented by the point of view of Mark, which may, with some reserves, be taken to represent the belief of the primitive Church, and by certain passages in the Synoptic narrative, which literary criticism would be inclined to exclude from the oldest stratum of tradition regarding Jesus, and to regard as representing the point of view of Christians in Jerusalem, such as are described in Acts.

Gentile Christianity.

For the rise of Gentile Christianity Acts vi. to xxviii. is our only source of information in narrative form; it can only be supplemented by the Pauline epistles, which show that it is incomplete and sometimes incorrect, but, generally speaking, confirm its claim to be an historical document of the first order.

Difficulties in the presentation of earliest Christianity.

The picture of the early Church presented by the opening chapters of Acts is that of a society of Galilean followers of Jesus who had lived together in Jerusalem from the day of the crucifixion and held peculiar views of their own. The Twelve, and especially Peter, were the leaders of this society.

The historical difficulty of this presentation is largely concealed from the general reader of the New Testament, because either he unconsciously harmonises the Gospels and Acts together, until he becomes almost incapable of recognising any differences, or he reads Luke and Acts together and ignores Mark. Nevertheless Mark and Acts, not Luke and Acts, are our primary sources, and the historian ought undoubtedly to regard Luke as in the main a secondary source, and to take this fact into account in considering Acts. If this be done it becomes clear that the account in Acts is defective, because, by a kind of historical homoioteleuton, it leaves out a complete episode

beginning and ending in Jerusalem. Of this episode there is no extant account, but Mark enables us to supply its outlines.

Original tradition.

According to Mark the disciples left Jesus at the moment of his arrest, or soon after, and fled. It is not related whither they went or the exact moment of their departure from Jerusalem, but it is definitely implied[1] that they were in Galilee when they first saw the risen Jesus. Inasmuch, therefore, as they clearly did not stay in Galilee—for the centre of the early Church was in Jerusalem, not Galilee—the general sequence of events must have been (1) the flight of the disciples ; (2) the vision—especially Peter's—of the risen Jesus in Galilee ; (3) the return to Jerusalem ; (4) the formation of a society in Jerusalem.

The Lukan Narrative.

Luke and Acts taken together give a different account of events, and represent the disciples as staying in Jerusalem after the crucifixion ; but this is because the editor altered the Marcan tradition, not because he whole-heartedly followed a different one. In the Gospel, though he also uses other sources, he follows Mark so far as Mark exists. But he omits Mark xiv. 28 (" But after I am risen I will go before you into Galilee ") and changes the words of the young man at the tomb from, " Go tell his disciples and Peter that he goes before you into Galilee, there ye shall see him as he told you," into " Remember how he spoke to you while he was yet in Galilee." The writer clearly knows the Galilean tradition, but changes and partly suppresses it.

Had 'Luke' a separate tradition ?

The suggestion is of course obvious that ' Luke ' was in possession of another tradition, which may conveniently be called the ' Jerusalem tradition ' as distinct from the ' Galilean tradition ' represented by Mark. This is not merely possible, but to a certain degree is obviously true. No one supposes that the

[1] Since the end of Mark is lost it cannot be said that it is stated, but in this case the implication is so clear as to amount to a statement. Mark xiv. 28: " After I am risen I will go before you into Galilee," and Mark xvi. 7, " Tell his disciples and Peter that he goes before you into Galilee ; there ye shall see him as he said to you," are possibly open to more than one interpretation as to whether the disciples went to Galilee before or after the crucifixion : but undoubtedly they imply the risen Jesus was seen first by the disciples in Galilee.

third Gospel and Acts are the products of the writer's imagination. But the question is, granted the existence of the two traditions at the time when 'Luke' wrote, between 60 and 100 A.D., which is the more likely to be true? They cannot both be true, for the disciples cannot have been both in Galilee and at Jerusalem when Peter first saw the risen Lord; either they were in Galilee as the Marcan tradition says, or in Jerusalem, as Luke says.

Galilean tradition.

On this point there is a growing consensus of opinion. 'Intrinsic probability' is not opposed to the Galilean tradition: 'traditional probability' is strongly in favour of it. If the disciples did not go to Galilee and there see the risen Jesus, there is no reason why the early Church—which certainly was settled at Jerusalem—should have invented the story; on the other hand, there is every reason why it should soon forget or ignore the short Galilean episode, and transfer to its own locality the experiences of the first witnesses to the risen Jesus. There is therefore the strongest probability that Luke has omitted or transformed the story of the disciples in Galilee and their return to Jerusalem. But this is clear only because we possess Mark; otherwise Luke would have succeeded completely in covering his changes and adaptations.[1]

Owing, therefore, to the loss of the true end of Mark and to the suppression of the Galilean tradition by the writer of Acts, it is impossible to say exactly what happened to those of the disciples, whose leader was Peter, between the crucifixion and their establishment as a community in Jerusalem. Mark proves that they went to Galilee, and then became convinced that Jesus was alive and glorified.[2] In the light of this Acts shows, though

[1] This is the measure of the caution with which statements in the early part of Acts must be received, and the justification of a free criticism.

[2] The story of the women who visited the tomb of Jesus "on the third day" and could not find the body is no doubt a genuine fragment of Jerusalem tradition: but though it may—the point is not clear—have been the basis of the faith of Mary Magdalene in the resurrection, it was not that of Peter's. Peter believed because he had found a living Jesus, not because he could not find a dead one.

it does not state, that they afterwards returned to Jerusalem and formed themselves into a society, of which Peter was the centre. It does not tell us why they went to Jerusalem instead of remaining in Galilee. We may guess that their reason was eschatological—the belief that the Day of the Lord was at hand, and that the reign of his Anointed would be established in Jerusalem: but there is no evidence.[1]

The Church originally a 'Synagogue.'

The Jews would probably have regarded this society as a new sect,[2] in the same sense as the Pharisees (*αἵρεσις* according to Acts, or *φιλοσοφία* according to Josephus); its members called themselves 'brethren' (*ἀδελφοί*), 'disciples' (*μαθηταί*), 'believers' (*πιστεύοντες*), or 'the way' (*ἡ ὁδός*). 'Disciples' and 'believers' explain themselves. 'Brethren' is strikingly similar to the rabbinical use of 'Haber' (associate). It is probable that the Christians[3] were also recognised as a synagogue or Keneseth,[4] for according to the Mishna ten Jews could at any time form one, and there was nothing schismatic in such action. The names of some of these synagogues in Jerusalem are recorded in Acts vi. 9—the Synagogue of the Libertini and Cyrenaeans and Alexandrians—though it is doubtful whether the text means that there was one or three synagogues. From the fact that the Jewish name for the Christians was Nazarenes, it is probable that they were known to the outside world as the Synagogue of the Nazarenes, but there is no documentary evidence that this was so. The members of this synagogue would have their own opinions, and possibly customs, but they would in no sense be outside the nation or church of Israel—the 'Keneseth Israel'—and would have the same right to frequent the Temple as other

[1] Yet it is noticeable that the eschatology of Joel, which plays so large a part in the story of the day of Pentecost, has its centre in Jerusalem.

[2] Cf. Acts xxiv. 15.

[3] The use of 'Christians' and 'Church' in the following paragraphs is an anachronism excused by its convenience.

[4] The Greek for Keneseth is either *προσευχή* or *συναγωγή* (cf. Acts xvi. 13, and Josephus *passim*). Is the true translation of Acts i. 14 (cf. ii. 42 and vi. 4), "they were diligent in attendance at their synagogue?" There is inscriptional evidence for the combination of *προσευχή* and *προσκαρτερεῖν* in this sense; see *C.I.G.* ii. add. n., 2114 *b*.

Israelites. The narrative in Acts affords ample confirmation that this was the case: the disciples are arrested for behaving illegally or riotously in the Temple, but it is never suggested that they were trespassing. Even during Paul's last visit to Jerusalem his own right to visit the Temple and pay his vows there is not questioned; he is only accused of introducing into it unqualified persons.

Peter, and the Twelve.

In this community Peter seems to have been the leading spirit. At the same time his authority is not represented as personal, but as derived from the community of which he is the spokesman, as is seen in the first chapter of Acts, when Matthias and Joseph Barsabbas are selected by the whole body of believers, who, praying for guidance, cast lots to decide between the two. The less historical this scene may be the more important it is as representing an early tradition as to the government of the Church. The reaction of later theories can be seen in the textual changes introduced by the 'Western' authorities which represent Peter, and not the community, as nominating Joseph Barsabbas and Matthias and as offering prayer; the change is simple, —εἶπεν and ἔστησεν for εἶπον and ἔστησαν,—but it is too consistently carried out to be regarded as accidental.

According to the early chapters of Acts, Peter and the other members of the Twelve were permanently settled in Jerusalem, and there is no suggestion that they engaged in missionary propaganda throughout the country. In Jerusalem itself the numbers of the believers grew rapidly. According to Acts i. 15, the original number was 120; after Pentecost 3000 new members are added; in Acts iv. 4 5000 are added; and in Acts vi. 7 it is said that the number of the disciples increased, and that a great 'crowd' of priests obeyed the faith.

Features in early Christian life.

During this short period of Christian history, the followers of Jesus were gathered in Jerusalem, and the division into Jewish and Gentile Christians did not exist. What were the most important features of their life? Three points stand out clearly: (1) They believed themselves to be specially inspired by the

Spirit of God and entrusted with a divine message, as had been the prophets of old and Jesus himself. (2) The context of this message was that Jesus was the Messiah, and this, rather than the announcement of the Kingdom of God and the need of repentance became central in their preaching. (3) They endeavoured to organise their life on communistic principles. Their belief in their inspiration and their teaching as to Jesus will be discussed subsequently; their communism must be dealt with here.

Communistic organisation.

The special organisation of the life of the Church is twice summarised in Acts,—in ii. 43-46 and iv. 32-35. There are small differences in expression, but the general meaning is the same. The Christians shared all things; those who had property realised it, and pooled the proceeds in a common fund, which was distributed to individual members as need arose. It is impossible not to recognise in this action consistent and literal obedience to the teaching of Jesus. The disciples had followed Jesus to the end of his journey in Jerusalem; they were waiting for his manifestation in glory, and sold all that they had and gave to the poor. But in terms of political economy the Church was realising the capital of its members and living on the division of the proceeds. It is not surprising that under these circumstances for the moment none were in need among them, and that they shared their food in gladness of heart, for nothing so immediately relieves necessity or creates gladness of heart as living on capital, which would be indeed an ideal system of economy if society were coming to an end, or capital were not. It is probable that the Church thought that society would soon end, but it proved to be wrong, and it is not surprising that the same book which in its early chapters relates the remarkable lack of poverty among the Christians, has in the end to describe the generous help sent by the Gentile Churches to the poor brethren.

Its breakdown.

The first sign of the breakdown of the communistic experiment is the narrative of the discontent among the 'widows' in the

community, when those who had originally belonged to the Diaspora (if that be the meaning of Ἑλληνιστῶν) complained that they were treated badly in comparison with those of Palestinian origin. The exact wording of the short statement in Acts is noticeable. "And in these days, while the number of disciples was increasing, there arose grumbling of the Hellenists against the Hebrews, because their widows were being overlooked in the daily administration."[1] The suggestion between the lines is that the increase of numbers in the Church was not accompanied by a corresponding increase in the capital at their disposal, and few will doubt its probability.

The Seven.

The result of this disturbance in the peace of the Church seems to have been a change in its organisation.[2] The Twelve gave up the control of the administration of funds and food, and induced the community to appoint seven others to supervise this work, while they gave themselves to τῇ προσευχῇ and the ministration of the word—a sentence in which ἡ προσευχή may mean prayer (in which case the article is somewhat strange, though explicable) or refer to the Keneseth—in other words to the Church. But the change of organisation did not solve the problem. The Seven became a target for persecution, their leader was killed, and the rest were dispersed. The narrative ceases to be concerned with communism, of which we hear no more, and we pass insensibly into the relation of the events which led to the division of the community into Jewish and Gentile Christianity.

Preachers rather than Administrators.

At first sight the narrative runs smoothly enough, but the more it is considered the stranger does it become that the Seven, who were ostensibly appointed in order to release the Twelve from administrative work and enable them to preach, never appear except as themselves preaching, and that, too, not in subordination to the Twelve but in such a manner as to call out active hostility to the Church and lead to its dissipation throughout and beyond Palestine. Why was such a policy pursued that

[1] Acts vi. 1. [2] Acts vi. 2 ff.

those who are described as the administrators of funds were compelled to flee from Jerusalem, where their work required them, while the apostles were able to remain? The most probable suggestion is that just as the writer of Acts shortened the account of the beginnings of the community in Jerusalem, so he has omitted most of the details of the final break between the 'Seven' and the Jewish leaders. He says, indeed, that Stephen disputed with other Jews of the Dispersion, 'Libertini,' Cyrenaeans, Cilicians, and Asians, and that in consequence of his debate he was accused of blasphemy against Moses and against God. But he gives no account of what Stephen really said, and the defence which he puts into Stephen's mouth is merely a long explanation that the Jews have always been a rebellious and backsliding nation. It stops before it reaches any really controversial matter, and is evidently included, if not written, by the editor because it explains so well that the Jews were once more resisting the Spirit of God. The narrative does not adequately explain the events, and the probability is that the teaching of the Hellenistic Christians was different from, and, in the eyes of the Jews, worse than that of the Twelve.

The Seven represented Hellenistic Judaism.

If we may judge by our scanty knowledge of "Liberal" tendencies in the Diaspora, the Seven probably represented the same kind of Hellenising Judaism as is represented by some parts of the *Oracula Sibyllina*, and, in an extreme form, combated by Philo in the *De migratione Abrahami*. This Judaism probably carried on propaganda among the Gentiles, but did not insist on a literal observance of the Law. If the Seven belonged even partially to this kind of "Liberal" Judaism, the situation is comparatively easy to understand. So long as, before their conversion, they had been merely "Liberals," or the Twelve had been merely believers in Jesus, each had been unpopular, but generally free from active persecution; but when Stephen, and later on Peter and Paul combined these causes of offence, the wrath of the orthodox knew no bounds.

It is also extremely probable that the teaching of the Seven

spread rapidly among the Hellenistic Jews of Syria. One reference in Acts itself renders this suggestion almost a certainty. In the account of the conversion of Paul the reason given for his journey to Damascus is his intention of persecuting Christians there. How did they come to be there? Who were they? Acts itself gives no account of the expansion of the Church from Jerusalem to Damascus. Were they Christians who had left Jerusalem? Or was there a mission to Damascus? It is likely that the Christians of Damascus were Greek speaking, even if they were not Greeks, and the supposition commends itself that Christianity was already spreading in circles outside Jerusalem, naturally taking a somewhat different form as it travelled, and that Stephen and Philip were part of this new development rather than merely administrators of charity in Jerusalem.

Peter and the Hellenists.

This impression is increased by further consideration of the story. After the death of Stephen the Seven immediately proceed to preach; it is Peter and the Twelve who remain in Jerusalem. But this division of labour seems not to have lasted long, for shortly afterwards Peter and John were sent to Samaria, perhaps with some misgivings, and stayed to encourage and complete the work of Philip.[1] Still, later, Peter was entirely converted in Caesarea to the recognition of Gentile converts, and returned to Jerusalem as their advocate. It is surely not accidental that almost immediately afterwards Herod Agrippa imprisoned him in order to please the Jews, and when he escaped he left Jerusalem, while James, the brother of the Lord, became the leader of the Church, and was apparently immune from interference by the Jews. Does not this mean that Peter accepted the more advanced point of view of the Seven, and became the leader of a mission more in accord with Hellenistic ideas?

[1] It seems to be part of the scheme of Acts to represent the Hellenists as preaching first, the Twelve as following them up, and finally, as converted to Hellenistic methods by the testimony of the Spirit and the logic of facts. Philip goes to Samaria and Caesarea: Peter follows and is convinced. Unnamed disciples go to Antioch: Barnabas follows, and does as Peter had done: he came to criticise but remained to continue the work.

Antioch.

According to Acts the most important success achieved by the scattered members of the party of the Seven was in Antioch, which became the centre of a Church obviously separate from orthodox Judaism, and for the first time was called "Christian." There followed a period of controversy with the party of Jerusalem. According to Acts, this lasted only a short time, and ended by James and the Twelve recognising the Antiochene position. But the evidence of the Epistles shows that the struggle between the two parties was more severe and lasted longer than Acts suggests.

Jewish Christianity in Pauline Epistles.

The Epistles to the Galatians and Romans, and, to a less extent, Philippians, prove the existence of Christians who insisted on the observance of the Jewish Law, and of circumcision. In Galatians, which is by far the most important evidence, it appears that, even after James, Peter, and John had accepted Paul's mission to the Gentiles, emissaries from James had interfered at Antioch, and Peter had hesitated for a moment which side to take. If the Council of Jerusalem met after the Epistle to the Galatians was written it is possible that James changed his attitude, but if Galatians ii. really refers to the Council it is clear that almost immediately after it Peter in Antioch and James in Jerusalem were acting against the Pauline teaching. In any case, the Epistles are evidence that the Judaising propaganda continued, and it will always be a moot point whether James was so conciliatory to Gentile Christianity as Acts describes him to have been.

Controversy almost ignored in Acts.

Taken by itself, Acts would never suggest the existence of a controversy so long and so acute as is revealed by the Epistles. According to it the Gentile Church of Antioch achieved an initial triumph over the Judaistic Christians of Jerusalem, but there remained "many myriads" of believers in Jerusalem who were all "zealous for the Law."[1] Their grievance against Paul was not that he was preaching to Gentiles, but that he was preaching against any observance of the Law, even

[1] Acts xxi. 20.

by Jews. James and Paul are represented as agreeing that this would be wrong, and as recognising the binding character of the Law on themselves and on other Jewish Christians.

Can this be a true picture of the Paul who wrote to the Galatians that there is now no difference between Greek and Jew? Can "no difference" mean that the one must and the other must not follow the Law? Can the Paul who said, "The Law has been our tutor up to Christ, that we might be justified by faith, but now that that faith has come, we are no longer under a tutor," be the same as the Paul who, according to Acts, tries to prove to the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem that he fully accepts the obligation of the Law?

Moreover, is it likely that Jewish Christians, even if they accepted Jesus as the Anointed Prince of the House of David who would reign in the Good Time at the end of this Age, would have conceded the privileges of the Chosen People to Gentiles who had acknowledged Jesus, but accepted nothing of Judaism?

Narratives in Acts and the Epistles.

Acts does not place the narrative above suspicion of inaccuracy. In the first part of the book the comparison with Mark shows that the Galilean tradition was omitted or changed, and in the second part the comparison with 1 Corinthians and Galatians shows that whole episodes of great importance were neglected. Part of its purpose was to picture the unanimity of the early Church; and the writer seems to have selected some incidents, omitted others, and changed others in order to serve this purpose. The Epistles are here the better evidence, and the Judaistic controversy must have been longer and sharper than Acts suggests. On one important point, however—the position of Peter—Acts is fully confirmed. According to the narrative of Galatians, Paul first went to Jerusalem to see Peter: the implication is clear that Peter was the chief person in the Christian community there. He also saw James the brother of the Lord, but no other apostle. On his second visit he saw "James and Cephas and John, who seemed to be

Position of Peter.

pillars"—and the order of the names is significant. Still later in the same passage he refers to a third meeting with Peter, but this time at Antioch; in 1 Corinthians there is a reference to the party of Peter of which the most natural meaning is that Peter had been in Corinth, and finally in 1 Corinthians ix. 5 reference is made to the custom followed by Peter, but not by Paul, of taking his wife with him on his journeys. The special importance of the passage in Galatians is that it shows that the Christian movement was by this time divided into two schools of propaganda. One insisted on its loyalty to Judaism, and demanded that converts should be treated as proselytes: its centre was Jerusalem, and its leader was James. To the other belonged Paul and his friends: its centre was probably in Antioch, and to it in the end—even if with some hesitation and backsliding—Peter himself belonged. This again is exactly what Acts distinctly states, and it is one of the mistakes of the Tübingen School that it did not recognise that Peter, not only in Acts but also in the Pauline Epistles, is on the Hellenistic, not the Hebrew side.

Attitude of James towards Paul.

There is, however, serious doubt whether the description of the position of James in Acts is equally correct. Was he completely friendly to Paul when he last visited Jerusalem? These are questions of the greatest difficulty, which must elsewhere be discussed in detail. Here it is not necessary to do more than urge that even though 'Luke' has no interest in relating the disputes of the early Church except to show that they were unimportant or unenduring, it is clear even from Acts that the Church was divided into two camps. The headquarters of the rigorist party was Jerusalem, and though he may not have been fanatical, everything points to James as having been its leader. He remained unhurt in the persecution of Agrippa I.; he was apparently in good standing with the Jews and the Temple authorities on the occasion of Paul's last visit to Jerusalem; and so, according to Josephus and Hegesippus, he remained until the outbreak of fanaticism in the last days of the city. Though

Luke so tells the story as to emphasise his friendliness to Paul, the Jews obviously distinguished plainly between James and Paul, and extended a toleration to the one which they refused to the other.

End of Acts confined to Paul.

In his further description of the growth of Gentile Christianity, the limitations of the scheme followed by the writer of Acts become more serious than his inaccuracies. Up to this point he has, at least so far as we can see, endeavoured to cover the whole field. He deals with Peter, Stephen, and Philip in succession, and describes the rise of Christianity in Jerusalem, Samaria, Caesarea, and Antioch. His narrative is not really complete and not always accurate, but it is not limited to the fortunes of one man. After this, however, he concentrates his attention almost exclusively on Paul. His information seems to be excellent, and the historical value of what he recounts increases; but his range becomes more limited, and this must be deliberate. From incidental remarks in the Epistles, and from Christian tradition generally, Paul must have been only one of many preachers to the Gentiles. The writer of Acts cannot have been ignorant of this, nevertheless he confines himself entirely to the story of Paul. The other great characters sometimes appear for a moment, but only when they cross Paul's path. Of the fortunes of the Jewish Christians we are told nothing, and nothing of the disputes among Gentile Christians. Even with regard to Paul, his adventures, not his characteristic thought, or his controversies, interest the writer. The other missionaries were Agamemnons who never found a Homer. So far as the sequence of events is concerned we can accept or reject the narrative; we cannot supplement it, for there is no other. The later history of Peter and the details of Paul's mission must be discussed in the commentary: they belong to the fabric of Acts, and cannot be regarded as prolegomena.

Jewish Christians.

It would probably be consistent also to say nothing more about the Christianity which remained Jewish: but the early evidence on this subject has a real bearing on the view maintained

above of the divergence of Gentile Christianity from the original Jewish stock, and it therefore seems justifiable to collect in outline the chief early evidence which relates to it.

Jewish Christians.

Little is known of the history of the Jewish Christians who did not follow the lead of Peter and Paul, and accept Gentile Christianity as a separation from the Jewish synagogue. The only sources of information are references in the Gospels, and a series of Jewish statements in the Tosephta and certain Baraitas. Possibly some allusions in Justin Martyr and in Ignatius, and perhaps the statements of Jerome about Palestinian Christians ought to be added to this, but their evidence is too late to have any except corroborative value.

The Gospels.

The evidence in the Gospels is especially the famous passage Matt. x. 5-23:

These twelve Jesus sent forth, and commanded them, saying, Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not: but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. And as ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils: freely ye have received, freely give. Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves: for the workman is worthy of his meat. And into whatsoever city or town ye shall enter, enquire who in it is worthy; and there abide till ye go thence. And when ye come into an house, salute it. And if the house be worthy, let your peace come upon it: but if it be not worthy, let your peace return to you. And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that house or city, shake off the dust of your feet. Verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrha in the day of judgment, than for that city. Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves. But beware of men: for they will deliver you up to the councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues; and ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles. But when they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak: for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you. And the brother shall deliver up the brother to death,

and the father the child: and the children shall rise up against their parents, and cause them to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake: but he that endureth to the end shall be saved. But when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another: for verily I say unto you, Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel, till the Son of man be come.

The first part of this passage, and many details in the later verses have no parallels elsewhere, but the part beginning with verse 17 "Beware of men" is one of the comparatively few sections in the Synoptic Gospels which seems to have a double source, and to be attributable both to Mark and Q. The Marcan version is Mark xiii. 9-13 and the Q version can be traced, though not accurately reconstructed, by a comparison of Matt. x. 17-23; Matt. xxiv. 9-14; Luke xxi. 12-19, and Luke xii. 7-12.

For the present purpose the interesting point is the comparison of the directly opposite verses, "Verily I say unto you, ye shall not finish the cities of Israel before the Son of man come" and "The gospel must first be preached to all the Gentiles," especially when it is remembered that the first of these two is the conclusion of the whole section which begins "Go not into a road of the Gentiles, and enter not into a city of Samaritans, but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel."

It is probably impossible to reconstruct the details of the literary history of the passage, but there is much to be said for the suggestion that the common nucleus is a saying of Jesus to the effect that his followers should not prepare a careful defence, but endure persecution, and speak as the spirit directed them. This was combined by Jewish Christians with a series of further directions, and with a promise that the Son of Man should come before they had 'finished the cities of Israel.' It was similarly combined by Gentile Christians with a warning that before the end the gospel must be preached to all the Gentiles.

Tendency of Matthew.

So much is tolerably clear and probable; and it is an interesting sidelight on the late date of the Gospel of Matthew in its present form that it contains both the Jewish Christian, and the Gentile Christian combination. The editor apparently did

not see the incongruity, and possibly thought that the injunction not to go to Gentiles or Samaritans referred only to a special journey, not seeing that the context makes it clear that it is intended to serve as a standing rule until the Parousia.

Another passage in Matthew which seems to belong to the Jewish circle is the section in the Sermon on the Mount dealing with the Law.

> Think not that I am come to destroy the Law or the Prophets: I am not come to destroy but to confirm. For verily I say to you, until Heaven and Earth pass away no jot or tittle shall pass from the Law, until all things come to pass. Whosoever therefore shall relax one of the least of these precepts, and teach men so, shall be called least in the Kingdom of Heaven. But whoever shall do and teach them, shall be called great in the Kingdom of Heaven. For I say to you that unless your righteousness exceed the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

Luke as compared with Matthew.

The passage is exactly what we might expect from the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem, who were all 'zealous for the Law.' It cannot be reconciled with the teaching of Paul.

The comparison with Luke xvi. 16 is instructive. Luke says: "The Law and the Prophets were until John. From that time the Kingdom of Heaven is preached, and every one does violence against it. But it is easier for heaven and earth to pass than for one tittle of the Law to fall." The passage has always presented difficulty to exegetes, and it seems scarcely self-consistent, but it is quite intelligible as the Gentile Christian rendering of a tradition which in Jewish Christian circles affirmed the everlasting validity of the Law, and is characteristic of the position which, in some of many varying forms, sought to find a way to affirm the inspiration of the Law, and yet justify disobedience to many of its precepts.

Gentile tendencies in Mark.

Certain secondary conclusions and problems emerge from the consideration of these passages. It is noteworthy that Mark, which in many ways is so clearly the most primitive gospel, and so little interested in the controversy between Jewish and Gentile Christians, has nevertheless the remarkable verse, "The

gospel must be first preached to all the Gentiles." Is this a sign that Mark, as we have it, belongs definitely to the Gentile Christian Church, though not to the Pauline branch of it? In other words, have we a point of confirmation for the tradition connecting the gospel with Peter?

Jesus—the Law and the Gentiles.

A most important question is how far these passages, whether Jewish or Gentile, go back to Jesus himself. In general it is probable that Jesus really spoke of the Law with veneration, and may well have insisted on a righteousness exceeding that of the Scribes,[1] but more than this cannot be shown, and the only clue is the conduct of his nearest disciples. This test is scarcely favourable to the authenticity of the extreme sayings on either side. If Jesus had really said, "The gospel must first be preached to all the Gentiles," or "Go ye into all the world and make disciples of all the Gentiles," would Peter and James have needed so much persuasion that a mission to the Gentiles was not improper? But on the other hand, if Jesus had really said, "Go not into a way of the Gentiles and enter not into a city of Samaritans," would Peter have gone to Samaria and Joppa, even if Philip had done so? The remarkable feature of the Judaistic controversy in the Epistles and even in the attenuated version of it given in Acts, is that there is no trace of any appeal to the teaching of Jesus on either side. If he had really spoken as the gospels represent, would no one have made use of his words?

It seems not unlikely that there is here a curious confirmation of the fact that Jesus in the earliest tradition of the Synoptic Gospels does not appear as intending to found a new society. He was announcing the speedy coming of the Kingdom, and calling on men to repent. The disciples were at that time looking for the day of his triumph, not seeking recruits for a Church. Under these circumstances missionary instructions for the seeking of converts to Christianity, as distinct from proselytes to Judaism, cannot have been given by Jesus. But

[1] See pp. 283 ff. and 292 ff.

circumstances changed: the Christians were forced to recognise that they were a new society. It was only natural for them to re-interpret and add to the original words of Jesus, in accordance with their new necessities and controversies. In the main the gospels represent Gentile Christianity. That is true even of the present form of Matthew, but though the final redactor of Matthew was no doubt a Gentile Christian, he incorporated certain passages which came originally from the other camp. Possibly the controversy was dead when he wrote; possibly he did not see all the implications of the documents which he used. Luke was more intelligent in his appreciation and free in his editing.

Jewish evidence as to the Christian Scriptures.

The evidence of Jewish sources is small but important, and has been somewhat overlooked. The only clear statement of it is to be found in G. F. Moore's *The Definition of the Jewish Canon and the Repudiation of the Christian Scriptures.*[1] The material is not found in the Mishna, except in accidental references, but in the Tosephta and occasional Baraitas, and is part of the débris of the controversy among the Jews of the first century as to the 'writings' which were to be regarded as scripture.

The Jewish Canon.

It was and is the practice in the Synagogue to read a first lesson on the Sabbath from the Law, and a second lesson from the Prophets, under which name the historical books outside the Pentateuch are included. There was no controversy as to the contents of the Law or the Prophets, but there was also the third class of the 'Writings' to which authority was attached, though its limits were doubtful. These books were not all used in the Synagogue, and the question was which might be placed in its library. Psalms, Proverbs, Job, and Daniel were beyond question, but Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, and Esther were doubtful, and even more dubious was the position of Ecclesiasticus.

The 'Writings.'

It is extremely interesting for the historian of early Christi-

[1] In a volume entitled *Essays in Modern Theology and Related Subjects, gathered and published as a Testimonial to Charles Augustus Briggs, on the Completion of his Seventieth Year*, New York, 1911.

anity to note that in the early stages of the controversy as to the "Writings," "the gospels and the books of the heretics" were expressly excluded, and by implication must previously have been sometimes admitted. This is clearly stated in Tosephta Jadaim ii. 13, and Tosephta Sabbath xiii. (xiv.) 5, in deciding which books may be rescued from fire on the Sabbath; the gospels are excluded, though they contain the name of God.

The chronological order of the references is given thus by Professor Moore:

> The earliest mention of the ordinance against the books of the heretics is in Mishna Jadaim iv. 6, in a tilt between the Sadducees and Johanan ben Zakkai, which may have occurred before the war of 66–70, and cannot be more than a decade or two later. Johanan's successor at the head of the college and council at Jamnia, Rabbi Gamaliel II., caused the petition for the downfall of the heretics to be inserted in the prescribed form of prayer; he and his sister Imma Shalom, the wife of Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, figure in the story of the Christian judge who quotes the gospel; in the same time falls the intercourse of Eliezer ben Hyrcanus with Jacob of Kefar Sekania, "a disciple of Jesus the Nazarene." In the second and third decades of the second century the situation becomes more strained; all the great leaders of Judaism—Ishmael,[1] Akiba, Tarphon, Jose the Galilean—inveigh against the heretics and their scriptures with a violence which shows how serious the evil was.[2] Tarphon would flee to a heathen temple sooner than to a meeting-house of those worse-than-heathen whose denial of God is without the excuse of ignorance; the usually mild-mannered Ishmael finds pious utterance for his antipathy, like many another godly man, in an imprecatory Psalm: "Do not I hate them, O Lord, that hate thee? . . . I hate them with perfect hatred." Akiba, who was never a man of measured words, consigns to eternal perdition the Jew who reads their books. The rigorous interdict on all association with the Christians[3] breathes the same truculent spirit; it bears every mark of having been framed in the same age and by the same hands, as does also the anathema which condemns the heretics, before all the rest, to eternal torment in hell.

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[1] See also Ishmael's interpretation of the dreams of the heretic, *Berakoth*, 56 b.

[2] Just as in the writings of the Church Fathers the increasing vehemence of their objurgations of heresy corresponds to the alarming progress gnosticism was making.

[3] Tos. Hullin, ii. 20 ff.

In the second half of the century the polemic against Christianity abruptly ceases. From Akiba's most distinguished pupil and spiritual heir, Rabbi Meir, nothing more serious is reported than his witticism on the name of the gospel—*εὐαγγέλιον 'awon gilion ;* from Nehemiah, only that among the signs of the coming of the Messiah he includes the conversion of the whole empire to Christianity.[1] Of the other great teachers of the generation no anti-Christian utterances are preserved. What is much more significant, at the close of the century the Mishna of the Patriarch Judah embodies none of the defensive ordinancesa gainst heresy which we find in the Tosephta and the Talmudic Baraithas.[2] The decision that the Gospels and the books of the heretics are not holy scripture is not repeated in the Mishna ; it deals only with the Jewish antilegomena, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs, the long-standing differences about which were passed on by a council about the beginning of the second century—a decision which did not, however, prevent the differences lasting through the century.[3] The only mention of heretical writings is preserved as a mere matter of history in the account of the Johanan ben Zakkai's defence of the Pharisaic ordinances against the criticisms of the Sadducees.

The extreme importance of this evidence is twofold. First, it can scarcely refer to Greek books. It is therefore the earliest and most direct evidence which we possess for the existence of Aramaic (or, conceivably, Hebrew) gospels. Have we here traces of the existence of the "many attempts" of which Luke speaks, or of the "Jewish Christian" passages in Matthew referred to above (p. 314 ff.), or of the Aramaic original of Mark, or of Q, or of the gospel according to the Hebrews referred to by Jerome ? Obviously no one can answer these questions, but all of them suggest interesting possibilities. Secondly, this is not merely the best external evidence for Aramaic Christian documents ; it is probably the earliest evidence for 'gospels' in any form. Where is there earlier evidence for the existence of gospels in Greek ? He would be a bold man who ventured to date the Didache earlier than Johanan ben Zakkai.

[1] *Sanhedrin*, 97 *a*, and parallels.

[2] If M. Hullin, ii. 9, be regarded as an exception, it is an exception that proves the rule ; cf. Tosephta, Hullin, ii. 19-20.

[3] M. Jadaim, 35.

III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THOUGHT ON THE SPIRIT, THE CHURCH, AND BAPTISM

The Gospels and Acts, as we now have them, are Greek documents, and were probably written by Greek Christians. But they are in varying degrees based on Aramaic tradition and probably Aramaic documents. We have therefore fragments of Jewish thought modified by the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus, translated into Greek words and partially into Greek thoughts. Furthermore, the documents which reveal the fact but conceal the details of this confusion, were written by men permeated with the belief that Jesus was the fulfilment of all the prophecies of the Old Testament, but caring little for the history of thought or the nice use of language. Whether the Jews had thought that the Messiah would be a different person from the suffering Servant did not interest the early Christian. He was convinced that Jesus was both: if he sometimes confused titles or forgot meanings it is not wonderful.

The right distinction between words, and the correct use of language, is the product of technical education, not of religion, and the Christian writers show no signs of having had this education. It is a mistake made frequently by those who have obtained distinction in the interpretation of classical literature rather than of human life, to treat early Christian documents as if their authors had been equally fortunate. It is peculiarly necessary to remember that the New Testament does not present the intellectual accuracy of a theological autopsy, but the

confused language of men whose religion was too much for their powers of expression.

Thus the study of the beginnings of Christian thought is naturally of recent growth, and its results, though extremely important and generally trustworthy, cannot ever be expected to reach the certainty in detail achieved by investigators of the later periods. It is again and again not a question of "getting to first-hand documents," but of getting behind second-hand ones and considering the probable nature of their sources. This is sometimes impossible, and the outcome often is a choice between opinions. Individual scholars have their own preference, but will usually admit that other alternatives are legitimate.

The gift of the Spirit.

The starting-point for investigation is the experience called "the gift of the Holy Spirit"; for this is the most important constant factor throughout the first Christian generation.

The meaning attached in Jewish thought to the Holy Spirit has been already discussed. Jesus himself openly claimed to be inspired, and the disciples were sure that he was right; but that during his ministry they made no claim to possess the Spirit themselves is definitely explained in Acts, and is clearly implied in Mark, in Q, and in Matthew. But immediately after the Resurrection (or perhaps after the return of the disciples to Jerusalem) they were given the Spirit, and began to speak with tongues, and to prophesy under its influence. Nor was this mere opinion. The statement that the Spirit was given is no doubt the expression of a theory, but behind it is a genuine experience. Something changed the disciples, and they believed that this something was the Spirit of God. It is not necessary to accept the belief,[1] but it is impossible to deny the change.

There appear to be two traditions as to the circumstances. According to Acts[2] the Spirit was given on the day of Pentecost,

[1] Modern psychology may explain the facts better than ancient faith: but it has to accept them as *data*.

[2] It is, however, possible that two traditions rather than one are preserved in Acts. There is considerable weight in Harnack's view that Acts ii. is an

fifty days after the Resurrection : according to the Fourth Gospel [1] it was on the day of the Resurrection. It is possible that neither tradition is the earliest form, and it is therefore all the more important to emphasise the point which they have in common : the Spirit comes from the risen Jesus. The only difference—and it is characteristic—is that the Fourth Gospel makes Jesus give the Spirit directly, when he breathed on them and said, " Receive ye the Holy Spirit," so that it appears to be his Spirit which is given, while Acts represents him as pouring out from Heaven the Spirit of God. The latter is probably more Jewish and more primitive.

Speaking with tongues in Acts ii.

According to Acts ii. the outward manifestation of the Spirit on this first occasion was *glossolalia*, which the editor interprets as speaking foreign languages, but most students will agree with Harnack that the account of the events of the Day of Pentecost have clearer marks of legendary influence than any other chapter in Acts. The description of *glossolalia* is quite unlike that given by Paul in 1 Corinthians xiv. 1-25, which describes phenomena well known, both to the historian and to the psychologist, as common to all " revivals " and to all ecstatic forms of religion. Moreover, the story itself bears witness to an earlier tradition more in agreement with the contemporary description of Paul. " These men are full of new wine " would exactly describe the *glossolalia* which prevailed in Corinth ; but it is inexplicable on the lips of foreigners who found to their surprise that the wonderful works of God were being described in their own language. It is impossible to rewrite the earlier form of the narrative, but the suspicion is hard to repress that the existing one was written by an editor who did not know from his own experience what

inferior doublet of Acts iii. and iv. If he be right the tradition preserved in Acts ii. and iv., which he calls the Jerusalem A source, represents the first gift of the Spirit as following on Peter's miracle of treating the lame man in the name of Jesus. This led to the arrest of Peter, and when he was called on for his defence he was filled with the Holy Spirit. Later on, when he returned to the other disciples, " the place in which they were gathered together was shaken, and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and spake the word of God with boldness."

[1] John xx. 22.

"speaking with tongues" was, and thought that it meant a miraculous gift of speaking foreign languages.

Peter's speech at Pentecost.

More important[1] than this problem is the speech of Peter in which he explains to the people that the gift of the Spirit is an eschatological phenomenon fulfilling the famous prophecy of Joel. In this way Peter proves that the "last days"[2] are at hand, and then goes on to assert that this pouring out of the Spirit is the work of the glorified Jesus, which shows him to be "Lord and Christ." This is the earliest example of the argument that the presence of the Spirit in the Church proves the truth of its opinion. But no description is given of the results of the gift except that it confers the power of prophecy. Was it also regarded as a cleansing from sin preparatory to the judgment? Such an interpretation fits very well with that form of Jewish thought which looked for the coming of some great judgment to cleanse the earth by destroying sinners.[3] It was indeed this belief which actuated John the Baptist when he said: "The axe is now laid to the root of the trees: every branch therefore that beareth not good fruit is cut off and cast into fire"; and, to avoid this fate, urged his hearers to repent and be baptized in water, foretelling the days when one "mightier than himself" would cleanse them with the Spirit. Probably, therefore, this view is latent in the first chapters of Acts, but it is not emphasised. The important thing is rather that the Spirit is regarded as the source of the miraculous words and deeds of the disciples. The Church

[1] Especially because it ignores the redactor's view of "foreign languages, and implies only the Pauline type of *glossolalia*." It is therefore probable that the speech belongs to the source, even though the redactor has probably altered it in some details.

[2] It is noteworthy that the exact phrase "the last days" is not in the text of Joel ii. 28, but is introduced into the quotation in Acts.

[3] In the early chapters of Enoch this cleansing is entrusted to Michael (Enoch x. 13 ff.), and in the Psalms of Solomon to the Davidic Messiah (*Ps. Sol.* xvii. 41, cf. xviii. 8 ff.). A similar destruction of the wicked seems to be foreshadowed in 4 Ezra and in Baruch, though in Baruch and perhaps in Ezra it is the work of God himself (4 Ezra vi. 26 f.; Baruch xiii. 4 ff. and lxxxv. 15). There is a collection of passages and an admirable discussion in H. Windisch, *Taufe und Sünde*, pp. 34 ff.

is the home of the Spirit; when Ananias and Sapphira deceive the Church they lie to the Spirit; Barnabas and Paul are appointed missionaries by the Spirit; when Paul strikes Elymas blind, he is filled with the Spirit; the elders of Ephesus are said to have been made ἐπίσκοποι by the Spirit.

The Spirit in Acts and in the Epistles.

It is sometimes said[1] that Acts differs from the Epistles by representing the working of the Spirit as occasional and sporadic, but this seems an exaggeration. It would be more accurate to say that in Acts the Spirit is regarded as working with varying power. *Glossolalia*, and prophecy such as that of Agabus, are not constant but intermittent phenomena. Nevertheless it is certain that to the redactor of Acts Christians were men who had been given the Spirit; the Church was the supernaturally endowed society of those who had received the gift; only through it could this normally be obtained; and the case of Cornelius was so exceptional as to warrant his immediate reception in the Church. It may be doubted whether the writer was quite clear whether the means of imparting the Spirit was by baptism or the laying on of hands,—but it was at any rate a privilege, belonging to, and given by the Church.

It is not in this, but in the view taken of the results of possessing the Spirit that there is a real difference between the Epistles and Acts. In Jewish thought the gift of the Spirit made a man a prophet or a worker of miracles; but the later Catholic doctrine of the Spirit was that by its operation men obtained a new nature, which ensured them eternal life, or, as it was sometimes stated, made them divine.[2] This doctrine is not Jewish in origin: it belongs to that curious mixture of philosophy and magic which dominated the last centuries of heathen life.

Spirit in Jewish and Hellenic thought.

It is doubtful how far this mixture was already extant in the first century: probably it existed, though this has been asserted rather than demonstrated by Reitzenstein[3] and others;

[1] See particularly H. Gunkel's *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes.*

[2] Especially in Irenaeus and later in Athanasius, cf. Iren. *adv. Haer.* iii. 20. 1.

[3] See *Die hellenistische Mysterienreligionen.*

but in any case it began subsequently to grow very rapidly, and it is for the present purpose comparatively unimportant whether Christianity was one of the earliest or latest of the sacramental religions.[1] The main note of these cults is the offer to men to become immortal or divine, and this is characteristically expressed as 'the gift of the Spirit.' Probably the average man looked on this offer as representing some kind of obsession by the Lord of the cult; but in more philosophic circles it was connected rather with Stoic doctrines of the nature of reality, and the identification of the soul, whether of man or of the world, with "Spirit," the finest and most ethereal form of matter.

The details of this question, whether in heathenism or in Christianity, are obscure; fortunately only one point is really necessary for the present purpose. In the mystery religions the Spirit effects an essential change in the worshipper: he becomes a new being. But in Jewish thought this is not the case; the Spirit of the Lord descends on men, and they prophesy or do wonderful things. Nevertheless they remain themselves, and their salvation,[2] their life or death, does not depend on the gift of the Spirit.

Change to Pauline and Johannine thought.

This is the real dividing line between the Jewish and Gentile forms of thought, and it marks very clearly the difference between the Synoptic Gospels on the one hand and the Fourth Gospel and Pauline Epistles on the other. In the Epistles the Spirit is the base of all Christian life: by it Christians have become sons of God: they are a new creation. In the Fourth Gospel only those who are born of the Spirit can enter into the Kingdom of God. Nothing of this appears in the Synoptic

[1] The question cannot be settled by pointing out that the worship of Isis or Mithras is older than Christianity. The question is whether these Oriental religions were always sacramental, or became so when they passed into the Hellenic world. Or, the problem may be put in another form: Were there earlier non-sacramental Oriental religions behind these "mysteries," just as the religion of Israel is behind Christianity?

[2] Salvation in Jewish thought depends on conduct. In Catholic Christianity it depends on sacramental regeneration; it can, after this, be lost by evil conduct, but cannot previously be earned by good conduct.

Gospels. Not even in Luke is the gift of the Spirit clearly represented as the necessary possession of Christians. The same is perhaps true of the sources represented by the early chapters of Acts; salvation is offered to the repentant, and the gift of the Spirit is the result rather than the cause of salvation. But the second part of Acts is in this respect Pauline. Paul in Ephesus[1] regards the possession of the Spirit as the necessary equipment of Christians, and holds that it is conveyed by a correct baptism. Probably the redactor of Acts also held this view, though it is not clear whether he thought that the Spirit was given by baptism, or by the laying on of the hands of an apostle after baptism.

Acts thus gives glimpses of various stages: the redactor and his sources do not always represent the same point of view. There is a development or change from Jewish to Greek; but behind it is the common experience—conversion, inspiration, regeneration, or whatever other name be given. The explanation changed; similar words were used, but with an altered meaning; the experience itself was the connecting-link. Later on, in a more developed Christianity, the situation was reversed; the experience ceased, and the thought, or rather the language, was the point of union with the past. But in the period of the New Testament this was not so; and the unity of experience enabled the Church to survive greater changes of thought than it has ever passed through since.

Early doctrine of the Church.

The effect of the experience known as the gift of the Spirit was felt both in the description which the Christians gave of themselves and in those which they gave of Jesus.

The followers of Jesus had not originally looked on themselves as separate from the Jewish Church; but when the opposition of the synagogue grew, the Hellenistic Christians abandoned Jewish practice, and the possession of the Spirit became the hall-mark of a Christian. They called themselves the ἐκκλησία;

[1] Acts xix. 1 ff.

probably this was at first merely the translation of *keneseth*, but the fact that it had been used in the LXX. to translate *qahal*—the Congregation of Israel—furthered the conviction that the Christian Church, not the Jewish, was the Congregation of Israel, the true people of God—the λαός as contrasted with τὰ ἔθνη.

Nevertheless this conviction that the Church was the People of God was accompanied, strangely, yet intelligibly enough, by the opposite sense that it was new, and owed its existence to Jesus, who—according to the most probable meaning of a corrupt passage—had "gained it (περιεποιήσατο) by his own blood."[1] But there were two theories as to the time when it was founded.

In Acts. That of Acts is clearly that the Church began with the gift of the Spirit at Pentecost, and it is to the editor always the society inspired by the Spirit, and in turn bestowing it. To him it fulfilled the prophecy of Joel as to Israel in the last days, and it was the Spirit which gradually led on to the evangelisation of the Gentiles.

In Matthew. Matthew has a different theory; for him the foundation of the Church was promised by Jesus, during his ministry, and the commission to the eleven to convert all the Gentiles was part of the great vision of the risen Lord in Galilee.

Few can doubt that Acts is nearer to history than Matthew, for his account of the confession of Peter at Caesarea Philippi is clearly a later recension of the Markan narrative, and his version of the commission to preach to the Gentiles is negatived by the history of the Judaistic controversy.[2] According to Mark, Peter at Caesarea Philippi acknowledged Jesus as "the Christ." Jesus' reply was a rebuke (ἐπετίμησε), forbidding the disciples "to say so to any one concerning him."[3] But Matthew completely rewrites the passage. Instead of a

[1] Acts xx. 28.

[2] According to Acts it never entered into the mind of the Twelve to leave Jerusalem and evangelise the Gentiles until circumstances forced them to do so: to accept Matthew xxviii. 19 is to discredit the obedience of the Twelve beyond all reasonable limits.

[3] Mark viii. 27 ff.=Matt. xvi. 13 ff.

rebuke Peter receives a blessing and the promise that on him the "Church" shall be founded, and that he shall receive supernatural authority in connection with it.[1] "And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." It is difficult to regard these words as the genuine saying of Jesus; but they reflect two important phases of early Christian thought and language —the supremacy of Peter, and the explanation of the Kingdom as the Church.

Matthew and the supremacy of Peter.

The supremacy of Peter is not borne out by the narrative of Acts or by the Pauline Epistles. In both of them Peter is represented as prominent but not supreme. Indeed, except in the opening chapters of Acts, James is more important in Jerusalem than Peter; but the leadership neither of James nor of Peter is based on supernatural authority or on a special commission from Jesus: it is that which naturally belongs to the head of a synagogue or indeed of any other society. It is clear that the Matthaean tradition cannot be that of Jerusalem.

Two places are suggested by historical probability—Rome and Antioch. At first sight Rome seems natural; but this is due to the impression made by later controversy. There is no trace in the second century that Rome claimed supremacy because of its connection with Peter, nor is there evidence of the special use of Matthew in Rome.

[1] In the interests of Protestant ecclesiology it has often been attempted to explain this perfectly clear passage in some other way; but the words are simple and lucid. Their meaning is as plain as their unhistorical character is obvious in the light of synoptic criticism. It is interesting to note how Matthew's editorial methods betray themselves: in the original Marcan narrative ἐπετίμησε is an intelligible word, but in Matthew it is merely a literary survival quite discordant with its new context.

The claim of Antioch is less obvious but more probable. The epistles of Ignatius suggest that Matthew was the Antiochene gospel; the tradition that Peter was the first Bishop of Antioch is as old and as probable as that which makes him the first Bishop of Rome. Both reflect his historical connection with these cities, though expressed in the language of later ecclesiastical organisation. The hypothesis may therefore be ventured that "Tu es Petros" represented originally not Roman but Antiochene thought, and reflects the struggle between Jerusalem and Antioch for supremacy. Jerusalem had James the brother of the Lord who presided over the flock on Mount Zion. But Antioch claimed that Peter, not James, had been appointed by Jesus; on him, not on James, was the Church founded; and he, not James, had the keys of the Kingdom, to admit or exclude whom he would. This is of course a hypothesis which cannot be demonstrated, but it seems more probable than the suggestion that the passage had originally anything to do with the claims of Rome.[1]

The Church and the Kingdom of God.

The identification of the Church[2] with the Kingdom of Heaven is unmistakable in Matt. xvi. 19, because the keys of the Kingdom are represented as effective both in heaven and on earth. The same usage can also be found elsewhere in Matthew, especially in the parables, some of which are unintelligible, unless the Kingdom of Heaven means the Christian Church. This is, for instance, clearly true of the parable of the drag-net,[3] which reflects the problem of the existence of evil in the Church, and equally plainly in the reference to the scribes who become disciples of the Kingdom of Heaven.[4] Different minds will have different interpretations of Matthew, but few will doubt that some of the "parables of the Kingdom" can only refer to the Church, and

[1] For the study of Acts part of the importance of this tentative identification of the Matthaean tradition with Antioch lies in the presumption created against the otherwise probable Antiochene provenance of the editor of Acts.

[2] The only other reference to the Church as the ἐκκλησία is Matt. xviii. 17. This passage may be either late or early. It is not found in the other gospels, but the advice to lay a quarrel before the community has in itself no sign of date. The same advice might have been given by any Rabbi.

[3] Matt. xiii. 47 ff. [4] Matt. xiii. 52.

some will go so far as to suspect that the Greek editor of Matthew habitually interpreted the phrase in this way.

Kingdom and Church in Q.

That this interpretation is Matthaean, not primitive, can scarcely be doubted; there is, however, one passage in Q where it is legitimate to suspect its influence.[1] In the answer of Jesus to the disciples of John, Jesus says, "Verily I say to you, among them born of women there hath arisen none greater than John the Baptist, but he who is least[2] in the Kingdom of Heaven is greater than he." In no Jewish sense of the word could John be regarded as outside the Kingdom, which is meaningless here except in the sense of the Christian Church. It is strange to find this passage, like the more famous one in Matt. xi. about the Father and the Son, in all reconstructions of Q. But these reconstructions are in the main merely mechanical compilations of material common to Matthew and Luke, which may have used in common late as well as early sources. It is noticeable that in both cases the verbal agreement is very close, so that the source used was Greek. Paradoxical though it seems, the parts of Q which have the best claim to authority are those where the agreement between Matthew and Luke is not verbal, for in these there is probably Aramaic tradition behind the Greek.

It is therefore tolerably certain that some Christians, possibly in Antioch, thought of the Kingdom of God as the Church. Possibly the redactor of Matthew interpreted in this manner all references to the Kingdom in his sources, and believed that when Jesus said "the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand" he meant the Christian Church; but there is no evidence that the Lukan writings represent this view. The writer of Acts was as high a churchman as Matthew, but in a different sense, and Matthew and Acts represent parallel independent developments of thought.

Theory of the Church in Acts.

A little later great and sometimes controversial interest

[1] Matt. xi. 7 ff.; Luke vii. 24 ff.

[2] As in modern Greek the comparative μικρότερος has here a superlative force.

attached to the rites of the Church, and to the ministers of its organised life. There is, however, no trace of this stage in Acts.[1] The ministry is mentioned in several places, and the terminology of ἐπίσκοποι, πρεσβύτεροι, and διάκονοι is found. But there is nothing to show whether these officers were held to have had more than administrative functions, and ἐπίσκοποι and πρεσβύτεροι seem to be synonymous. The Church is the community of Christians, but its authority comes from the Spirit of which it is the instrument. The Eucharist is possibly mentioned in Acts as the 'breaking of bread,' but this is not quite certain, and nothing is said of its meaning or of its part in Christian life.

In general, therefore, it may be said that in Acts the Church is assumed to be the society of those who through the Lord Jesus have received the Holy Spirit. This is in all essentials the Catholic position. But its causes, not its consequences, are emphasised in Acts, which therefore throws no important light on the ministry of the Church or on the Eucharist, but much on the beginnings of Baptism and of Christology—or, in other words, on the mystery of initiation into the number of its inspired members, and on the doctrine concerning the founder of the Church.

Baptism.

In Christian literature the words baptism and baptize are used almost exclusively for the rite of Christian initiation, which appears in sub-apostolic literature as the universally recognised 'Mystery' or 'Sacrament' whereby the initiated died with Christ and were born again to a new, eternal life.

History of the word βαπτίζω.

The history of the word itself is stranger than is generally recognised: neither the verb nor the substantive was commonly used in Greek either among Jews or Gentiles in connection with religion or religious washing, and their sudden appearance in Christian vocabulary is one of the strangest "spring-variations" in linguistic evolution.

[1] That is to say excluding Baptism, which was the rite of initiation into the Church, not one practised by initiated members among themselves.

The meaning of *βαπτίζω* is to 'dip' or 'sink,' and it is used both literally and metaphorically. For instance, Polybius in *Hist.* i. 51. 6, describing the sea battle between Publius and Adherbal, explains the successful tactics of the Carthaginians by which *πολλὰ σκαφῶν ἐβάπτιζον*, and in xvi. 6. 2 he speaks of a pentereme of Attalus which was *τετρωμένην καὶ βαπτιζομένην*. Plato uses the word metaphorically of indulgence in wine in *Symposium IV.* when Aristophanes says to Pausanias, "*τοῦτο μέντοι εὖ λέγεις, ὦ Παυσανία, τὸ παντὶ τρόπῳ παρασκευάζεσθαι ῥαστώνην τινὰ τῆς πόσεως· καὶ γὰρ αὐτός εἰμι τῶν χθὲς βεβαπτισμένων.*" Josephus also used the word in exactly the same way in *Antiq.* x. 9. 4 of the murder of Gedaliah [1] by Ishmael —*θεασάμενος δ' αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα καὶ βεβαπτισμένον εἰς ἀναισθησίαν καὶ ὕπνον ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης ὁ Ἰσμάηλος . . . ἀποσφάττει τὸν Γαδαλίαν κτλ.*

In the *Euthydemus* Plato uses it of mental confusion, *γνοὺς βαπτιζόμενον τὸ μειράκιον* "when the youth felt that he was getting out of his depth." Similarly Plutarch uses it of debt—exactly anticipating the use of "dipped" in modern slang—and summarises Galba's objection to Otho as *ἀκόλαστον εἰδὼς καὶ πολυτελῆ καὶ πεντακισχιλίων μυριάδων ὀφλήμασι βεβαπτισμένον*. It is also used in Plutarch in the same way in which *βάπτω* is used of "dipping" wine out of a bowl. There is apparently no instance of its use as a technical term for religious washing.

In the Septuagint the verb *βαπτίζω* is used four times. In Isaiah xxi. 4 *ἡ ἀνομία με βαπτίζει* does not translate the Hebrew, but seems to mean "wickedness overwhelms me," and the word is used in the same metaphorical manner as in Plato and Polybius. In 2 Kings v. 14 it is used of Naaman, who dipped—*ἐβαπτίσατο* —seven times in Jordan. The other two passages are both in late books, and in each case the meaning is washing to remove ritual uncleanness—for which *βάπτω* is more usual in the earlier books. In Judith xii. 7 it is used of Judith's daily or nightly

[1] Cf. Jer. xli. 2.

visit to the stream to wash before prayer—*καὶ ἐξεπορεύετο κατὰ νύκτα εἰς τὴν φάραγγα Βαιτυλουά, καὶ ἐβαπτίζετο ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος*, and in Ecclus. xxxi. 35 it refers to the removal of the ceremonial defilement incurred by touching a corpse—*βαπτιζόμενος ἀπὸ νεκροῦ καὶ πάλιν ἁπτόμενος αὐτοῦ τί ὠφέλησεν τῷ λουτρῷ αὐτοῦ;*

It is therefore probable that, though the word was not common, it was coming into use in Greek-speaking Jewish circles to mean ceremonial or religious washing, for which *λούεσθαι* (or occasionally *βάπτειν*) is regularly used in the LXX. This probably explains why John the Forerunner is called *ὁ βαπτίστης* in Josephus as well as in Christian tradition; otherwise it is strange that so comparatively rare a word should be used independently by both.

Jewish and heathen parallels to Baptism.

The practice and theory of baptism, as distinct from the word used to describe it, has abundant but partial parallels in Jewish and Gentile sources. But the two do not cover the same aspects, and in the essentials of thought Christian baptism, though the direct descendant of Jewish practice, is far more Greek, or Greco-Oriental, than Jewish. The Jews had always practised washing as a means of removing ritual impurity, and, at least among the Essenes, it was regarded as a commendable form of asceticism. It may be doubted whether John the Baptist intended his baptism as a remedy for sin, or as a form of asceticism, for the synoptists and Josephus differ; but in any case he gave a new impetus to the practice, which in some way affected Jewish thought and, directly or indirectly, the custom of Christians.

But neither Jewish practice nor John's baptism explains the later theory of the Christian sacrament. This, in all essential respects, is wholly un-Jewish, and has many Gentile parallels. It is impossible, indeed, to find anything exactly the same as the Christian rite, partly, perhaps, because our knowledge of the details of initiatory rites in Greco-Oriental cults is very limited; and we cannot prove that in any of them the formula "in the name of" was used. But in all the Greco-Oriental cults there

was, or may reasonably be supposed to have been, an exact similarity to the central concept of baptism—the mystical death and rebirth to eternal life through the Passion and Resurrection of the Lord.[1]

There is little doubt as to the sacramental nature of baptism by the middle of the first century in the circles represented by the Pauline Epistles, and it is indisputable in the second century. The problem is whether it can in this form be traced back to Jesus, and if not what light is thrown upon its history by the analysis of the synoptic Gospels and Acts.

According to Catholic teaching, baptism was instituted by Jesus. It is easy to see how necessary this was for the belief in sacramental regeneration. Mysteries, or sacraments, were always the institution of the Lord of the cult; by them, and by them only, were its supernatural benefits obtained by the faithful. Nevertheless, if evidence counts for anything, few points in the problem of the Gospels are so clear as the improbability of this teaching.

The reason for this assertion is the absence of any mention of Christian baptism in Mark, Q, or the third gospel, and the suspicious nature of the account of its institution in Matthew xxviii. 19: "Go ye into all the world, and make disciples of all the Gentiles (*τὰ ἔθνη*), baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit." It is not even certain whether this verse ought to be regarded as part of the genuine text of Matthew. No other text, indeed, is found in any extant manuscripts, in any language, but it is arguable that Justin Martyr,[2] though he used the trine formula, did not find it in his text of the Gospels; Matt. xxviii. 19.

[1] The formula *renatus in aeternum* in inscriptions refers to the Taurobolium, but too much stress must not be put on this, for the evidence is unfortunately late. The inscription usually quoted is C.I.L. vi. 510: *Matei deum et Attidi Sextilius Aegesilaus Aedesius . . . pater patrum Dei Solis invicti Mithrae . . taurobolio criobolioque in aeternum renatus. . . .* This can be dated in A.D. 376. There are also at least three inscriptions (C.I.L. vi. 502 of A.D. 383; 504 of A.D. 376; and 512 of A.D. 390) which refer to the repetition of the *taurobolium*, and show that twenty years was sometimes regarded as the period of its efficacy.

[2] Justin, *Apol.* 61.

Hermas seems to be unacquainted with it; the evidence of the *Didache* is ambiguous;[1] and Eusebius habitually, though not invariably, quotes it in another form, "Go ye into all the world and make disciples of all the Gentiles in my name." No one acquainted with the facts of textual history and patristic evidence can doubt that the tendency would have been to replace the Eusebian text by the ecclesiastical formula of baptism, so that "transcriptional evidence" is certainly on the side of the text omitting baptism. The only doubt which must inevitably remain is whether "transcriptional probability" can outweigh the "intrinsic probability" supplied by the *consensus* of all existing manuscripts. But it is unnecessary to discuss this point at length,[2] because even if the ordinary text of Matthew xxviii. 19 be sound it cannot represent historical fact. If Jesus' last words had been to order his followers to make disciples of all the Gentiles, would there conceivably have been so much trouble before the Apostles came to recognise the propriety of doing so? Would they have settled the point by an appeal to the story of Cornelius rather than to their experience on the mountain of Galilee? Would they have needed to hear the arguments of Paul and Barnabas before they paid attention to the commission of Jesus? Would the work of converting the Gentiles, which Jesus had given to Peter and the Twelve, have been entrusted to Paul, who had not been present on the Mountain, while Peter confined himself to preaching to the Jews, as Paul tells the

[1] In the actual description of baptism in the *Didache* the trine formula is used; in the instructions for the Eucharist the condition for admission is baptism in the name of the Lord. It is obvious that in the case of an eleventh-century manuscript the trine formula was almost certain to be inserted in the description of baptism, while the less usual formula had a chance of escaping notice when it was only used incidentally.

[2] The two most important contributions to the study of this question are by F. C. Conybeare, "The Eusebian Form of the Text Matt. xxviii. 19," in the *Z.N.W.*, 1901, and Edouard Riggenbach, "Der trinitarische Taufbefehl Matt. xxviii. 19," in the *Beiträge zur Forderung christlichen Theologie*, No. 1, 1903. The main points of the first can also be found in F. C. Conybeare, "Early Doctrinal Modifications of the Text of the Gospels," in the *Hibbert Journal*, Oct. 1902, and of the second in F. H. Chase, "The Lord's Command to Baptize," in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1905.

Galatians? Would they have baptized, as Acts says that they did, and Paul seems to confirm the statement, in the name of the Lord Jesus—which is open to the gravest ecclesiastical suspicion, if not wholly invalid[1]—if the Lord himself had commanded them to use the formula of the Church? On every point the evidence of Acts is convincing proof that the tradition embodied in Matthew xxviii. 19 is late and unhistorical.

Baptism assumed to be part of Christian practice.

Neither in the third gospel nor in Acts is there any reference to the Matthaean tradition, nor any mention of the institution of Christian baptism. In the gospel the final commission of Jesus to the disciples is to wait in Jerusalem until they were endued with power from on high; and in the opening verses of Acts, where the same tradition seems to be repeated, it is explained that this means the fulfilment of the prophecy by John the Baptist of baptism in Holy Spirit instead of in water. Nevertheless, a little later in the narrative we find several references to baptism in water in the name of the Lord Jesus as part of recognised Christian practice. Thus we are faced by the problem of a Christian rite, not directly ascribed to Jesus, but assumed to be a universal practice. That it was so is confirmed by the Epistles, but the facts of importance are all contained in Acts. The question therefore is whether historical criticism applied to Acts can throw any light on the origin and development of Christian baptism. Does it appear to be so primitive as the editor of Acts suggests? Or are some of the references his redactorial work?

Baptism in Acts.

Three different points of view can be discerned in Acts: (1) Baptism in Holy Spirit was given to Christians instead of the baptism of John in water. (2) Baptism in water conferred the gift of the Spirit, but only if administered in the name of the Lord

[1] In the Catholic Church only baptism in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is both valid and regular. But baptism in the name of the Lord Jesus, though irregular, is not certainly invalid; if the intention of the baptizer was orthodox the ceremony is valid; but if he intended by this formula to deny the other persons of the Trinity, it is invalid. The Church of England, according to the Catechism, seems to regard the trine formula as the only one which is valid.

Jesus. (3) Baptism in water, even in the name of the Lord Jesus, did not confer the Spirit, which was given only by the laying on of hands by the apostles. The examination of these three points offers the most probable method of solving the problem.

In the second part of Acts in the account of Paul's visit to Ephesus,[1] there is a clear statement that baptism properly administered, that is to say, in the name of the Lord Jesus, confers the Holy Spirit. According to this narrative Paul found in Ephesus Christians who had not received the Spirit; he was surprised at this and suggested that it was because of some defect in their baptism. Enquiry showed that they had only received the baptism of John. Paul then explained what was necessary; they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus, and received the Spirit when Paul laid his hands on them. It is clear that in this passage the laying on of hands by Paul is merely regarded as part of the ceremony of baptism,[2] and the meaning of the whole passage is clear: persons properly baptized receive the Holy Spirit, and proper baptism is baptism in the name of the Lord Jesus. The contrast with John's baptism is not between baptism in water and baptism in the Spirit, but between two baptisms in water of which one conveyed and the other did not convey the Spirit, because of the use or the neglect of the formula "in the name of the Lord Jesus."

The same view of baptism is apparently found in Acts ix. 17 f. Ananias says to Paul, "Brother Saul, the Lord has sent me, even Jesus . . . that thou mayest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Spirit," whereupon "there fell from his eyes as it were scales, and he received his sight, and he arose and was baptized." The fulfilment of the ὅπως ἀναβλέψῃς is obvious, and the implication that baptism was the fulfilment of the πλησθῇς πνεύματος ἁγίου is equally clear.

Sharply opposed to this view of baptism is that presented

[1] Acts xix. 1-7.

[2] It is of course possible that it is due to a redactor; if so his point of view was not quite the same as that of the redactor of the second chapter.

in Acts i. 4–ii. 4. According to this the gift of the Spirit is the Christian baptism foretold by John the Baptist, and the Spirit in the one takes the place of the water in the other. "John baptized in water" says Jesus to the apostles, "but ye shall be baptized in Holy Spirit, after not many days." The gift of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost is obviously intended to be the fulfilment of this promise.

Agreeing with neither extreme is a view presented in Acts viii. 8-19. According to this Philip baptized the Samaritans in the name of the Lord Jesus, but this did not confer the gift of the Spirit, which was given only when Peter and John came down to Samaria and "laid hands" on the converts.

Few things can be more certain than that the editor of Acts is likely to have put his own point of view with regard to baptism into his sources, and the only way in which the sources and the editor can be distinguished is the comparison of the texts referring to baptism with their context. Editors can interpolate or omit in the interest of their own opinions, but it is very difficult for them to prevent the context from betraying their procedure. Critics have sometimes exaggerated this truth, and cut documents into small pieces by the application of a logic which would destroy the unity of a monolith, but in spite of this abuse the appeal from the text to the context remains the most valuable tool at the disposal of an historical critic.

View of editor of Acts.

The application of this method to Acts shows that the editor was not in sympathy with the point of view of Acts i. 4. He held that baptism had been a Christian practice from the beginning, and he edited at least one of his sources in the interests of this opinion. According to Acts ii. 14 ff. Peter made a speech immediately after Pentecost to the crowd who had been impressed by the gift of tongues. At the end of his speech he said to the crowd, "Repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit." The obvious meaning is—just as in Acts xix. 1-7—that the gift of the Spirit is conditional on baptism; but

this sudden introduction of baptism seems quite inconsistent with what was stated: the disciples had received the Spirit without having been baptized for that purpose, and the words of Jesus in Acts i. 4 imply a baptism in Spirit as a substitute for baptism in water, not as a consequence of it.[1] The redactor, however, like all his contemporaries in the Gentile Church, regarded baptism in the name of Jesus as necessary for admission to the Christian society and its benefits, of which the gift of the Spirit was one of the chief; it is therefore not strange if he introduced the references to baptism in Acts ii. 38 and 41. That these are redactorial and do not belong to the source is perhaps confirmed by the use of Jesus Christ as a double proper name. It is therefore probable that the "Jerusalem Source B," to which this speech belongs, said as little about baptism in the name of Jesus as did the parallel speech from "Jerusalem Source A" in Acts iii., which the redactor omitted to change.

Baptism of Cornelius.

Another passage in which the mention of baptism may be legitimately suspected as a redactional interpolation is in the story of Cornelius. There are two versions of this story, one in the direct narrative in Acts x., the other in Peter's account of it in Acts xi. According to the former the Spirit descended on Cornelius; and the Jewish Christians who were present with Peter, though surprised that the "gift of the Spirit had been poured out on the Gentiles also," raised no objection to the baptism of Cornelius by Peter. The story is not wholly logical, for why should Cornelius have been baptized when he had already received the Spirit? Still, men are not always logical, and Peter may have been actuated by motives of ecclesiastical propriety. But the parallel narrative, Peter's report of the

[1] It is interesting to note that according to Euthymius Zigabenus the Bogomils had been struck by this contrast: *τὸ μὲν παρ' ἡμῖν βάπτισμα τοῦ Ἰωάννου λέγουσιν, ὡς δι' ὕδατος ἐπιτελούμενον, τὸ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ πνεύματος, ὡς δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς τελούμενον. διὸ καὶ τὸν προσερχόμενον αὐτοῖς ἀναβαπτίζουσι, πρῶτα μὲν ἀφορίζοντες αὐτῷ καιρὸν εἰς ἐξομολόγησιν καὶ ἁγνείαν καὶ σύντονον προσευχήν· εἶτα τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγέλιον ἐπιτιθέντες, καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐπικαλούμενοι καὶ τὸ Πάτερ ἡμῶν ἐπᾴδοντες . . .* (Euthym. Zig. *Panopl.* xxvii. 16).

incident to the Church in Jerusalem, suggests a different possibility. When Peter returned to Jerusalem the Jewish Christians remonstrated with him for his eating with uncircumcised men. One would have supposed that it was even worse to admit such into the Church, and, indeed, that this was part of the Jewish contention is made clear by Acts xv. and by Galatians, but nothing is said about it in this narrative. Moreover, when Peter defends himself he does so by relating that the Gentiles had been given the Spirit, comparing it to the inauguration of the Jewish Christian community by the same gift of the Spirit at Pentecost, and—most remarkable of all—by referring to the words of Jesus in Acts i. 5: "John baptized in water, but you shall be baptized in Holy Spirit." What would have been the point of this quotation if the true end of the story had been, "So I baptized Cornelius in water"?

Christian baptism in water possibly due to the Seven.

Thus there is considerable reason for thinking that in the "Peter" narratives of Pentecost and of Cornelius the sources used in Acts had nothing about baptism in water. But it was found in the sources used in the second part of Acts, and the redactor, regarding it as a primitive custom connected with the gift of the Spirit, adapted the earlier narratives to agree with the later ones. This confirms the impression derived from Mark that Christian baptism does not go back to the time of Jesus or of his immediate disciples; but it throws no exact light on the date of its introduction. Possibly the key to the problem can be found in the narrative of Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch and of the first preaching in Samaria. Baptism in these narratives is not connected with the gift of the Spirit, and in the second of the two is clearly distinguished from it. The Spirit is given only by the laying on of the apostles' hands. There is no trace whatever that baptism is here due to the redactor, and the suggestion made by the narrative is that the Seven rather than the Twelve were the first to practise baptism in the name of the Lord Jesus.

This would correspond admirably with the probability that

the Seven represent Hellenistic Jews who had been influenced by the Diaspora. Though there is no probability that baptism without circumcision was ever adopted by Palestinian Jews as sufficient for the initiation of proselytes,[1] there is some evidence that baptism, or washing with a religious significance, was emphasised in the Diaspora. It may have been sometimes regarded as sufficient to admit a Gentile as a proselyte, or at least, if followed by a virtuous life, to secure his salvation in the Age to come,[2] though there was, of course, no suggestion that such " baptism " conferred immortality or gave the Holy Spirit.

If, therefore, Jews from the Hellenistic Diaspora, such as the Seven probably were, attempted to preach to a heathen population like that of Samaria,[3] they would very probably have baptized their converts, and might have used the formula " in the name of Jesus the Christ," or " in the name of the Lord Jesus," to indicate that their converts were not merely proselytes to Judaism, but to that special sect which recognised the claims of Jesus.

It is possible that they may have ascribed no significance to this baptism beyond that given to proselytes; or they may—following the example of John—have regarded it as removing sin. The question of sin, as distinct from ritual or legal offences, and akin to disease, was greatly in the mind of that generation, and its cure was naturally associated with magic. There were few more popular methods of magic than the use of potent names, and from the beginning the name of Jesus was used as a magical formula to work cures. This is illustrated by the story of the man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, and it is difficult to find any other meaning in the statement in Acts viii. 12 that

[1] See above, pp. 164 ff.

[2] This seems to be the position of *Oracula Sibyllina*, iv. 162-192. The heathen in this passage are called on to repent and be baptized (ἐν ποταμοῖς λούσασθε ὅλον δέμαρ ἀενάοισιν), and are assured of resurrection and life in the Age to come after the judgment of God and the destruction of the present world.

[3] The " Samaritans " were only a small proportion of the population. The majority of the dwellers in Sebaste and the neighbourhood were heathen.

Philip preached "concerning the Kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ." Jewish traditions are full of stories which centre in the use of magical formulae, and in some of these the name of Jesus is actually mentioned as efficacious but forbidden.[1] Thus the formula 'in the name of Jesus' may be connected with the forgiveness of sin, and be quite as well Jewish as Gentile; the characteristically Gentile feature in the Catholic doctrine of baptism is the assurance of sacramental regeneration. There is no sign that this was promised by Philip, and it is clear that he did not regard it as conferring the gift of the Spirit.

Nevertheless, once this practice had been established by those who were preaching to the Gentiles it was sure to be continued by other evangelists, and suggested to the Greek world the obvious parallel to 'Mysteries' with which it was familiar. The gift of the Spirit, the sacramental repetition of the death of Christ, the new birth to eternal life are Greek interpretations inevitable under the circumstances.

Baptism of John.

The relation of this history to the baptism of John is obscure. Probably there was no direct connection between the baptism of John and Christian baptism, which came in naturally as soon as Gentiles began to be converted. But it is also probable that many of the disciples of John were themselves converted to Christianity, and that they brought with them their own baptismal custom. The disciples whom Paul found at Ephesus, and probably also Apollos—though this seems less certain—must have belonged to this class. But the narrative of Acts shows clearly that this 'Johannine' body of Christians[2] were soon absorbed by the main stream of Gentile Christianity.

It is thus tolerably probable that the history of baptism brings us to the edge of that world of Catholic thought and practice which was destined to be the surviving form of

[1] See G. F. Moore, "The Definition of the Jewish Canon, etc.," in *Essays in Modern Theology . . . a Testimonial to C. A. Briggs*, New York, 1911.

[2] It is a curious coincidence—it can be nothing more—that they appear in Ephesus, which seems to be obsessed by the name of John—John the Baptist, John the son of Zebedee, and John the Presbyter.

Christianity. But it does not do more: there is no elaboration in Acts of sacramental doctrine. In the history of ideas Acts is less advanced than the Pauline epistles. Is that because the writer belonged to a more primitive stage, or because he was really trying to reproduce earlier facts? If he belonged to the generation which succeeded Paul, or even was contemporary with him, the strange thing is not that he has changed his sources, but that he has changed them so little.

IV

CHRISTOLOGY

Beginnings of Christology.

With the establishment of the followers of Jesus in Jerusalem a new element in the history of Christian thought began. Henceforward, though the message of Jesus remained, and the disciples endeavoured to follow the way of life which he had pointed out, they added to this their own message concerning him. Thus the period of Christology began. The vivid recollection of the vision of the risen Master always stood as the guarantee of their faith. As time went on, and events which probably none had foreseen drove them out into the Gentile world, the form in which their faith in Jesus was expressed began to change; Greek phraseology took the place of Jewish, and brought with it its own different connotation. Moreover, as Christians began to feel themselves separated from the Synagogue, and their ranks were recruited from those who had never belonged to it, they began inevitably to connect their Christology with their own corporate life. The community of believers became the Christian Church. It is true that they claimed for themselves the heritage of the promises made by God to his chosen people, but even more strongly did they feel that they were a new society, of which the head was the living Lord, Jesus Christ. To him and to that society they belonged, not merely, or even chiefly, by their own choice, but by his grace, for in his name they had been baptized, through him they had received the Holy Spirit, and by him they were saved.

The contribution to thought of this period is therefore the

laying down of the broad outlines of Christology; but without further explanation this word is somewhat misleading. Etymologically it ought to mean the doctrine of the Messiah. But it cannot be thus defined; for all practical purposes Christology now means primarily the doctrine held concerning Jesus, and its study divides itself somewhat sharply into two parts.

There is in the first place the development of doctrine by Christian writers from the second to the fifth century. This is a complicated and difficult subject, but it deals exclusively with Christian writings, and there is no lack of material. It assumes a certain foundation of doctrine—the identification of Jesus with the Logos, and the fulfilment by him of all the predictions of the Old Testament. In the second place, there is the inquiry into the history of these foundations. It is only with this subject that we are now concerned. The difficulty is that we have hardly any really contemporary evidence. The facts cannot be seen at all without a considerable amount of analytic criticism of sources; for almost all the documents exist at present only in the form of redactions made at later periods, and under the influence of later forms of thought.

The investigation has found its *foci* in the technical terms used in the earliest documents, which describe Jesus as Messiah, Son of Man, Son of God, the Servant, the Prophet like unto Moses, and the Lord. These phrases are so well known that it is sometimes forgotten that they are technical, that each of them represents some factor in the evolution of early Christian thought, and that an accurate knowledge of the problems can only be obtained by taking each term separately and considering its history. The following paragraphs will therefore deal with each of them in turn.

Meaning of Χριστός.

The verbal adjective χριστός[1] is in the Greek Old Testament the usual translation of the corresponding Hebrew verbal משיח,

[1] The paragraphs dealing with this subject (pp. 246 to 262) are contributed by Prof. G. F. Moore.

as an appellative, literally, a person smeared with oil or an unguent, 'anointed,' or as an adjective in the same sense.

In classical Greek the adjective χριστός is rare and poetical, and is used only of a remedy which is smeared or rubbed on the body of the patient (ἀλέξημα, φάρμακον χριστόν). It is doubtful whether such an expression as ὁ χριστός would have conveyed any meaning at all to a Greek, the less because the custom of anointing kings or priests was unknown. To his ear it would suggest only ὁ χρηστός. It was inevitable therefore that this unintelligible epithet should coalesce with the proper name, Ἰησοῦς ὁ χριστός becoming Ἰησοῦς Χριστός or Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς.

To Jews, familiar with their Bible, משיח and χριστός were transparent words, whether in their literal or figurative senses, signifying anointed, consecrated, designated by divine appointment to an office or mission, invested with a certain rank and dignity, and were not confined by meaning or usage to any one person or office. The habit of representing these terms by "the Messiah," used as a proper name or appropriated title, is one of the chief causes of confusion and error in modern disquisitions on the "messianic" ideas and expectations of the Jews; for "Messiah" is to us a meaningless transliteration with mixed Jewish and Christian connotations.

Anointing of Kings in the Old Testament.

In the Old Testament anointing appears as a ceremony of king-making. Most often it is the people who make the king and anoint him. Thus David was anointed first by the men of Judah, later by the elders of Israel;[1] Joash and Jehoahaz[2] are also mentioned as having been anointed to be kings. Hosea speaks of the Israelites' anointing kings and princes.[3] Jotham's fable of the trees who went about to anoint a king over them[4] implies the same custom. Saul and David were designated as kings by anointing at the hands of Samuel,[5] but actually made

[1] 2 Sam. ii. 4, v. 3. [2] 2 Kings xi. 12, xxiii. 30.

[3] Hosea vii. 3, viii. 10. So LXX. in viii. 10 (cf. viii. 4), reading ממשח for ממשא. The same emendation (ימשחו) is necessary in vii. 3, as is generally recognised.

[4] Judges ix. 8, 15. [5] 1 Sam. ix. 16, x. 1, xvi. 12.

kings later by the act of the people.[1] To forestall Adonijah's plans Solomon was anointed by the priest Zadok under David's orders, and thereupon acclaimed king.[2] Jehu was anointed to be king of Israel by an emissary of Elisha, who instigated him to murder his master and seize the kingdom.[3]

Probably the pouring of oil on the head of the king was originally an act of religious veneration ;[4] in historical times it was regarded from the religious point of view as a consecration, or, without reflection on its significance, as a part of the ceremonial of king-making. The religious association is permanently impressed on the language. The king is " the anointed of Jehovah," or more exactly " the Jehovah-anointed " ; and when used of the king the word *mashīh* is always defined thus or by a pronoun referring to God (" my, thy, his, anointed one "). This relation to Jehovah makes the person of the king inviolable,[5] as he is under the protection of God. But in pre-Christian writings " the anointed," or " the anointed king " is not found.

In the historical books the phrase " the anointed of Jehovah " or its equivalent is used only of Saul and David, except in the prophetic passage where it refers to Solomon and his successors on the throne of Judah.[6] In the prophets the term is used neither of actual kings nor of the good king whom they foretell for the better time to come, and there is no allusion in them to the rite of anointing.[7] In the single place where the word is found[8] it is of Cyrus : " Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, Cyrus " (LXX. *τῷ χριστῷ μου Κύρῳ*).[9]

[1] 1 Sam. xi. 15 ; 2 Sam. ii. 4, v. 3. [2] 1 Kings i. 39 ; cf. 34.
[3] 2 Kings ix. 1-15 ; see also x. 5.
[4] Cf. Gen. xxviii. 18, xxxi. 13.
[5] 1 Sam. xxiv. 7, 11 ; xxvi. 9, 11, 16, 23 ; cf. Ps. cv. 15.
[6] 1 Sam. ii. 35 ; cf. 1 Kings ii. 26 f., 35. The poems, 1 Sam. ii. 1-10 (Song of Hannah) and 2 Sam. xxii. (Ps. xviii.), pieces of comparatively late psalm composition, will be considered below with the Psalms, as will also Hab. iii.
[7] On Zech. iv. 14 and Dan. ix. 25 f. see below, p. 350 ff.
[8] Isa. xlv. 1.
[9] Cf. Is. xliv. 28, " My intimate " (pronounce *rē'ī*, as also in Zech. xiii. 7. It is the title of a minister who stands close to the king.) If in xlv. 1 the name of Cyrus is a gloss, it is an old one.

Anointing of the High Priest.

In Exodus xxix. in the ritual for the consecration of Aaron and his successors as high priests, after the ceremony of robing, it is directed that the anointing oil be poured upon his head ;[1] and in Exodus xxx. 22 ff. a formula is given for a chrism compounded of balsams, fragrant gums, and oil, which is to be reserved exclusively for liturgical use. The high priest is consequently called הכהן המשיח, "the anointed priest," in distinction from the body of the priesthood.[2] There is no mention of such a rite in pre-exilic times,[3] and inasmuch as the History of the Sacred Institutions to which Exodus xxix. belongs is a work of the Persian period, it is not improbable that the author appropriated the ancient royal consecration for the high priest, the head of the nation in a kingless time,[4] as pieces of royal apparel are appropriated for his vestments. It cannot be without significance that in the ritual of the Day of Atonement he does not appear in this magnificence, but is attired in ordinary priestly garb.[5]

No trace of anointing of later High Priests.

Whether in practice the high priests of the later Persian and Greek times were actually anointed is uncertain. That it was not the custom in the Herodian temple is certain ; the form of installation was robing with the four pieces of vestment which were peculiar to the high priest, besides the four which he wore in common with all ministering priests ; and according to the rabbis the chrism was secreted by Josiah, which is equivalent to saying that so far as they knew no high priest had been anointed since the restoration.[6] But though the rite had fallen into desuetude, the word משיח, in the figurative meaning "consecrated," or merely "great," continued in use. One of the letters translated at the beginning of 2 Maccabees is addressed

Though Messiah = anointed was used as a title.

[1] See also Lev. viii. 12.

[2] Lev. iv. 3, 5, 16 ; vi. 15. Both chapters are late novels to the law.

[3] 1 Chron. xxix. 22 probably means to say that Zadok was anointed ; but the author's source, 1 Kings ii. 35 (cf. v. 27), contains nothing of the kind.

[4] So also the coronation of Zerubbabel has been transformed into a coronation of Joshua the high priest in Zech. vi. 11, in crying conflict with vs. 12.

[5] Lev. xvi. 4 ; cf. 24.

[6] The chrism was one of the things Elijah was to bring with him when he came ; with it he would anoint the Messiah.

to an Alexandrian Jew, Aristobulus (the philosopher), teacher of king Ptolemy, *ὄντι ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν χριστῶν ἱερέων γένους*, *i.e.* of the high-priestly family. In the Mishnah, codified from existing materials toward the end of the second century A.D., "anointed priest" (כהן משיח) is the designation of a high priest, whether actually in office, or one who had been removed from office, as often happened under Herod and the procurators. Frequently "the anointed" (המשיח) is used in the same meaning, "priest" being understood from the context; and except in the single phrase "the days of the Messiah" (in contrast to the present) "the anointed" is always the high priest.[1]

Two passages in the Old Testament, one in Zechariah and the other in Daniel, demand fuller consideration.

In Zech. iv. 14, "The two sons of (fresh olive) oil,[2] who stand close by the Lord of the whole earth," is commonly interpreted, "the two anointed ones," namely, Zerubbabel and Joshua. The ancient versions (LXX., Aquila, Theodotion, Targ., Pesh.) take the words as a figure for splendour or greatness; but rabbis of the second century refer them to Joshua and Zerubbabel, representatives of priesthood and royalty, descendants of Aaron and David, the anointed founders of the two lines of high priests and kings. The natural function of the two olive trees on either side of the lamp-stand (vss. 3 and 11) is to supply oil to the reservoir from which the lamps are fed by pipes, and the natural interpretation would be that they symbolise the two, prince and priest, who jointly maintained the cultus in the restored temple; whereas to describe them as "anointed with oil" is both irrelevant and inapposite. It cannot therefore be inferred from the verse that Zerubbabel and Joshua were actually anointed, or that the anointing of the high priest was pre-exilic custom.

In Dan. ix. 25 f. the word משיח, "an anointed one," occurs

[1] There is, of course, little reason in legal works like the Mishnah for mention of the ruler in the future restoration of the monarchy, and when he is referred to it is usually simply as "the prince"; *e.g.* "private citizen, prince (נשיא), high priest (משיח)," as in Lev. iv.

[2] שני בני יצהר.

in a context which has led many interpreters to take it as a specific title that has become a virtual proper name, "Messiah," corresponding to the later Jewish and Christian use of the word.[1] Thus the English version (1611) renders:[2] "Know therefore and understand, *that* from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince *shall be* seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks: the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times. And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof *shall be* with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined."

A more exact rendering is given in the new translation issued by the Jewish Publication Society of America (1917):

"Know therefore and discern, that from the going forth of the word to restore and to build Jerusalem unto one anointed, a prince, shall be seven weeks; and for threescore and two weeks, it shall be built again, with broad place and moat, but in troublous times. And after the threescore and two weeks shall an anointed one be cut off, and be no more;[3] and the people of a prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; but his end shall be with a flood; and unto the end of the war desolations are determined."

The author fixes two points in his chronological scheme of seventy sevens (weeks) of years (7 + 62 + 1), the first by the appearance of "an anointed one," the second by the cutting off of "an anointed one." It must be presumed that the same office is meant, though, as the interval of more than four centuries shows, not the same person; and in the light of the whole history of the word the further presumption is that "an anointed one"

[1] "Messiah" as a proper name seems not to be certainly attested in Jewish sources before the Baylonian Talmud.

[2] The revision of 1885 and the so-called American Standard edition deal timidly with the errors of this translation.

[3] The text of this clause is probably incomplete.

is here equivalent to "a high priest." The prevailing opinion is that the reference in verse 26 is to the murder of the high priest Onias.[1] The "anointed" in verse 25, with whom the period begins, would then be the high priest of the restoration, Joshua son of Jehozadak, who figures in Haggai and Zechariah; and the "word to restore and to build Jerusalem" would most naturally be understood of the edict of Cyrus.[2] The actual dates do not correspond with this scheme at any point;[3] but the Jews, who, it is sometimes forgotten, did not have the canon of Ptolemy to operate with, were always far out of the way in the chronology of the Persian period. For the author of Daniel the four hundred and ninety years were given in Scripture,[4] while the events of his own time proved to him that the end of this period was at hand. The text of Dan. ix. 25 f. is not free from difficulties; but they do not affect the general understanding of the passage. All that is important for our present purpose is that whatever persons may be meant by the words "an anointed one" in verses 25 and 26, it is probably in both a high priest; certainly not a Jewish king.

Since ritual anointing signified consecration, with the connotation of dignity and honour, the word could be used of persons regarded as consecrated by God and thus standing in a peculiar relation to him, without thought of its literal meaning. Thus Cyrus ("his anointed," Is. xlv. 1) is chosen and consecrated by God to the mission of delivering Israel. In Ps. cv. 14 f. it is said of the patriarchs: "He suffered no man to do them wrong, yea, for their sake he reproved kings: 'Touch not mine anointed ones, and do my prophets no harm.'" They were by their relation to God sacrosanct, inviolable. In other Psalms the Jewish people, as a nation chosen and consecrated by God, is his "anointed." So Psalm xxviii. 8, in synonymous parallelism:

[1] 2 Macc. iv. 33-38; cf. vss. 7-10.

[2] Ezra i. 2 ff.

[3] They correspond no better with any other scheme that has been proposed.

[4] Dan. ix. 2; Jer. xxv. 11 f.; xxix. 10; cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21; Lev. xxvi. 34 f.

"Jehovah is strength to his people,[1] a stronghold of deliverance to his anointed (*sc.* nation)." [2] In Is. lv. 3-5, the mission and authority once bestowed by God's favour on David are by a permanent covenant conferred upon the Jewish people. Reminiscences of the promises to David, especially of 2 Sam. vii., are naturally found in the Psalms; [3] in none of these Psalms is the word associated with the prophetic figure of the ideal king, or with the prophecies of the scion of the Davidic stock in whom the dynasty is restored.

The 'Anointed' in Psalm ii.

Psalm ii. is of a different character. The nations are planning rebellion against Jehovah and his anointed, his king, whom he has established on Zion, his holy mountain. By divine decree, the title "Son of Jehovah" is conferred upon him from that day forth, and the nations to the ends of the earth are made subject to his dominion; he shall shatter them with an iron sceptre and dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel; they are warned to prevent destruction by instant and humble submission. The Psalm seems to reflect an actual historical situation; older interpreters referred it to David, many recent critics connect it, like Psalm cx., with one of the Asmonaeans. Others think that the poet sang of the future king of the restored monarchy, the Messiah in the late Jewish sense: whatever the author may have meant, it is certain that the Psalm was interpreted in this way by Jews as well as Christians.[4]

'Messiah' in Jewish literature.

In Jewish writings of the two centuries preceding the Christian era the word "anointed" (משיח) occurs rarely,[5] and when it

[1] So LXX., Pesh. The Hebrew text, by accidental loss of a single letter, "to them."

[2] See also Ps. lxxxiv. 10, lxxxix. 39, 52; Hab. iii. 13; 1 Sam. ii. 10.

[3] As in Ps. lxxxix. 20-38 (note vers. 20 "With my holy oil have I anointed him"); cxxxii. 11 f., 17 (cf. 1 Sam. ii. 10); Ps. xviii. 50, 2 Sam. xxii. 51.

[4] See Ps. Sol. xvii. 24; Rev. ii. 27; xii. 5; xix. 15; 4 Ezra vii. 28 f.; xiii. 25 ff.; Acts iv. 25; xiii. 33; Heb. i. 5; v. 5. *Berakoth* 7*b*; *Abodah Zarah* 3*b* (the outbreak of Gog and Magog at the end of the "days of the Messiah"); *Succah* 52*a*. Some modern scholars think that in the mind of the author of Ps. ii. the Jewish people was the Lord's anointed.

[5] It is not found in Sirach—except xlvi. 19 (22) of Saul—or in any of the Books of the Maccabees or elsewhere in the Apocrypha; in any part of the Book of

is used it is not confined to the scion of the Davidic dynasty with whom Christians habitually associate it, nor does the hope of the restoration of the monarchy always attach itself to the ancient royal house. By far the most important passage is in the Psalms of Solomon,[1] composed soon after the middle of the first century B.C., Ps. xvii. 21-46, a composite portrait of the son of David, the king of the golden age, whose features are drawn from the whole range of Old Testament prophecy and poetry; particularly vss. 35 f., describing the righteous king, instructed of God, who shall rule over Israel in days when there shall be no unrighteousness among them, because they shall all be holy, *καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Χριστὸς Κύριος*—in the Hebrew original of the Psalm doubtless משיח יהוה "the Lord's anointed" (*χριστὸς Κυρίου*).

(1) In Psalms of Solomon.

In the "Parables" of Enoch (Enoch 37-71), a work of about the same age as the Psalms of Solomon, the kings and potentates of the earth fall never to rise again, "because they denied the Lord of Spirits and his anointed."[2] The "anointed one" of this verse is the same as "that son of man" in an earlier part of the chapter (xlviii. 2), who was chosen and concealed in the presence of the Lord of Spirits before the world was created (vs. 6). The "son of man" (human being), who in Daniel's vision (vii. 13 f., 27) is a symbol of the dominion of the holy people of the Most High (the Jews) in contrast to the four heathen empires represented by monstrous and destructive beasts, becomes in the Similitudes of Enoch the Righteous One, the Chosen One (Is. xlii. 1), the Anointed (consecrated) One, who since before the creation has been with God in heaven. Numerous and various Old Testament prophecies are drawn upon in the description of this Elect One—for example, Is. xi. 2-5, for his wisdom and power; but, as might be expected from the relation

"Parables" of Enoch.

Enoch except the Similitudes (on which see below, p. 370 f.), in the Book of Jubilees, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (excluding Christian interpolations), in the Assumption of Moses, the Jewish Sibylline Oracles, the Wisdom of Solomon; nor anywhere in Philo or Josephus (except *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 3, of Jesus, generally regarded as an interpolation).

[1] See p. 111. [2] Enoch xlviii. 10; cf. Ps. ii. 2. See also Enoch lii. 4.

to the judgment scene in Dan. vii. 13 f., 22 ff., it is with judgment—the destruction of the heathen and the apostates, the vindication of the righteous—that he has chiefly to do. In those days heaven and earth will be transformed:[1] the Lord of Spirits will abide over them, and the righteous and elect will eat with the Son of Man, and lie down and rise up for evermore; they will be clad in glorious raiment, the garment of life from the Lord of Spirits, which never waxes old.[2] The earth and the nether world give back the dead to share in the glory and blessedness of that time.[3]

The 'Chosen One.'

This representation of the person and work of the "Chosen One," as he is most often called, moves in a circle of ideas widely remote from those of Ps. Sol. xvii. Nor is it merely an assumption into the supernatural sphere of the Lord's anointed as he appears in that Psalm; it has an entirely different origin and purport. The "Son of Man" is not the Messiah "pre-existent in heaven," as it is the fashion to say—if that had been the author's meaning the visions would have read very differently. All that can rightly be said is that the author of Enoch xlviii. 10, in a connexion which recalled Ps. ii. 2, applied the words "his anointed one" in that verse to the supramundane figure—Daniel's "son of man" as an individual—whom he commonly calls God's "chosen one."[4] It is a methodical error which entails interminable confusion, to take this casual allusion as a key to the interpretation of the Visions and distil from it the "Messianic doctrine" of the author.[5]

Messiah in early Rabbinic writings.

In the texts published by Schechter under the title *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (1910), the word משיח, or the passive participle משוח, occurs repeatedly. In the first instance (page 2, line 12) it is used of the prophets of the Old Testament (cf. Ps. cv. 14 f.).

[1] Enoch xlv. 36; cf. Isa. lxv. 17 ff.
[2] Enoch lxii. 14-16; cf. li. [3] Enoch li. 1 f.
[4] The connection in lii. 4 is less clear, but no less casual.
[5] Interpreters of the apocalypses, not being familiar with the methods and mental habits of Jewish students of the Bible, do not recognise the midrashic character of such association of texts.

In the other places "the anointed one of Aaron and Israel," or "from Aaron and Israel," is a teacher of righteousness who is expected in the latter days. The teaching of Israel belongs to the priest; "the priest's lips should keep knowledge and they should seek the law at his mouth, for he is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts."[1] The assumption of this function by the scribes was, in the view of the sect, a usurpation. The whole attitude of this schismatic body to Judah excludes the expectation of an "anointed" of Judaean (Davidic) lineage.

In the sayings that have been preserved to us from the Jewish masters who taught in the times of Herod and the procurators there is no word of an expected Messiah, under that name or any other; but the Gospels give sufficient evidence of the belief, common among all classes, that a divinely appointed head of the people should one day appear, with whom better days would come; that this deliverer should be a descendant of the ancient royal house of Judah, the son of David, in whom the monarchy was to be restored; and that "the anointed" (king), in Hebrew *mashīh*, Messiah, was a popular name for this figure.

The more concrete traits with which homiletical *midrash* or popular imagination clothed this vague expectation were varied and inconstant, drawn miscellaneously from prophecy and poetry, from the visions of apocalyptic seers, from the circumstances of the times. One of the commonest was that the Messiah would first appear somewhere in the wilderness and lead his followers into the Holy Land (cf. Is. xl.), and more than once multitudes followed into the desert prophets who promised to conduct them to the place. The parallel between Moses, the first deliverer (גואל), and the great Deliverer was fruitful of suggestions. But it cannot be too strongly emphasised that there was no generally accepted opinion, no organised and consistent teaching, above all no orderly Messianic doctrine possessing the faintest shadow of authority. The thing itself was of faith, all the rest was free field for imagination.

[1] Mal. ii. 7; cf. Ezra vii. 10.

Desire for coming of Kingdom.

It must be borne in mind also that in a large part of the prophecies in the Old Testament foretelling and describing a golden age to come, the political element which is characteristic of what may properly be called Messianic prophecy is wholly absent. Not the restoration of the Kingdom of Judah under the reign of a descendant of David, but the universal reign of the God of Israel, whose unity and sovereignty are acknowledged by all mankind, and whose righteous will is law for all, was the end of God's ways in history for the prophets of oecumenic vision. In Jewish thought and hope at the beginning of our era this universal reign of God with all that it implied—the universality of the true religion, world-wide peace in righteousness—filled a large place. This is the "Kingdom of Heaven,"[1] of which we read in the Gospels. "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven," is not a prayer for the coming of the Messiah; and in the Jewish liturgy prayers for the appearance of the scion or son of David are quite distinct from those for the "Kingdom" —the reign of God.

Doubtless in the common apprehension the national political hope was associated with this larger outlook; but in the minds of the teachers of the people in the generation before the fall of Jerusalem, it seems to have been incidental to it, and assuredly did not so fill their thoughts as to exclude the greater future.

Rise of expectation of a Davidic ruler of Israel.

The restoration of the monarchy, after the extinction of the Kingdom of Judah in 586, is foretold under the figure of the springing up of a "sprout (חטר) from the stump of Jesse, a sucker (נצר) from his roots."[2] A similar prophecy is found in Jeremiah:[3] "I will raise up unto David a righteous scion (צמח), and he shall reign as king and prosper." At the moment when the crisis in the Persian Empire held out a short-lived hope that such predictions were about to be fulfilled, Zechariah saw in Zerubbabel this scion.[4] The event belied his expectation, and nothing more is heard of Zerubbabel or the looked-for kingdom. But the

[1] "Heaven" is a common Jewish metonymy for God.

[2] Is. xi. 1. [3] Jer. xxiii. 5; xxxiii. 15. [4] Zech. iii. 8; vi. 12.

"scion of David" became a standing designation for the Davidic king who was still hoped for in the future, or, in slightly different expression, the "horn" which the Lord should make to shoot up (הצמיח) for David."[1]

The priest-king.

When the Asmonaeans achieved the liberation of the Jews from Seleucid rule, and extended their dominion by conquest over the countries which according to the old histories had been subject to David and Solomon, ruling as kings even before Aristobulus assumed the title, many Jews saw in these events the fulfilment of the prophecies of the good time coming, a time of prosperity at home and power and glory abroad for the people of God under native sovereigns. Psalm cx. is an expression of this feeling. In it the ruler is a priest-king like Melchizedek (Gen. xiv.), such as the Asmonaeans alone were. They themselves recognised the type by adopting in their official title the style "priest of the Most High God," which only Melchizedek bears in the Old Testament. Generations afterwards, Josephus eulogises John Hyrcanus as one who was esteemed by God worthy of the three greatest gifts, the rulership of the nation, the dignity of the high priesthood, and prophecy.[2] High priesthood, royalty, and prophecy are the three pre-eminences of the posterity of Levi in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs;[3] the new priest whom the Lord will raise up[4] reigns as a king, and Is. xi. 2 is appropriated to him. He is an "anointed high priest."[5] The "anointed of Aaron and Israel" of the seceding sect of Damascus[6] is perhaps a rival conception to the anointed of Levi and Judah in the Testaments, rather than a parallel to it; but in this sect also the hope of the future attaches to a priest, not to a descendant of David.

Asmonaean right to reign doubted.

The conflicts between the Pharisees and the priest-princes

[1] See *Orac. Sibyll.* vi. 16; Ps. cxxxii. 17.

[2] *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 7; cf. *Tos. Sotah*, xiii. 5; *Sotah* 33*a*.

[3] Levi viii. 11 ff. [4] Levi xviii.

[5] Reub. vi. 8. Note also especially μέχρι τελειώσεως χρόνων ἀρχιερέως χριστοῦ (where Charles emends a perfectly sound text), and 11 f βασιλεὺς αἰώνιος (Ps. cx.). [6] Above, pp. 97 ff.

under John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus made the rule of the Asmonaeans obnoxious to a large part of the nation; in the strife of Alexander's sons the dynasty courted its doom. The second of the Psalms of Solomon sees in the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey and the profanation of the temple the just judgment of God upon the wickedness of its inhabitants in the days of the later Asmonaeans.[1] Psalm xvii. in the same collection is even more explicit: the Asmonaeans were usurpers who in their arrogance assumed the crown, and insolently devastated the throne of David. The Davidic king, the anointed of the Lord, to whose portrait so many prophecies contribute (*ib.* vss. 23 ff.), is not only in character the opposite of the Asmonaeans; he will be a *legitimate* king according to God's oath to David, in contrast to their usurped monarchy. Antagonism to the Asmonaean claim to rule as "anointed priests" after the pattern of Melchizedek doubtless led the Pharisaic scribes to insist all the more strongly that the king who in God's set time shall come to reign over Israel must be of David's line. The old Palestinian form of the Eighteen Benedictions contains a prayer (the eleventh) for the coming of the Kingdom of God: "Restore our judges as at first and our counsellors as at the beginning . . . and reign over us, Thou alone"; and another (the fourteenth), for the Kingdom of David: "Have compassion, O Lord our God . . . on Jerusalem thy city, and on Zion thy glorious abode, and on the kingdom of David thy holy anointed."[2] In the abridged prayer, *Habinenu*, as well as in the Babylonian recension of the Eighteen, the prayer is for the "scion of David" (צמח), the prophetic word for which "Messiah" is the later equivalent.

The Law more prominent than the Messiah.

Before the war of 66-72 A.D., as has already been remarked, although the restoration of the nation under a Davidic prince as foretold in the Scriptures was firmly believed in, it does not seem

[1] Cf. Assumption of Moses, vi. 1.

[2] This petition supposes the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and was most probably introduced in the redaction of the prayers which was made by Gamaliel II.

to have much engaged the thoughts of the rabbis. To the prophets, whose announcement that it was at hand, made a commotion from time to time among the multitude, they turned a deaf ear. They opposed all attempts to expedite the deliverance by insurrection. It would come in God's time and way. Meanwhile their task was to prepare the people for it by expounding and inculcating the will of God for righteousness as he had revealed it in the Law.

Effect of the fall of Jerusalem.

The fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70 completely changed this attitude. Messianic prophecy assumed an instant and engrossing importance, and inevitably its political aspect was dominant in men's minds—not the universality of the true religion, the reign of God; not the prophetic and priestly mission of Israel; not the wise and just rule of the peaceful prince; but the liberation of the Jews from a foreign yoke, the restoration of Jerusalem and of worship in its temple; nay more, the utter and final ruin of the oppressive empire of Rome, the last of the four embodiments of the kingdom of this world in its enmity to God and his people.

In the Jewish apocalypses from the generation after the fall of Jerusalem the deliverance is accomplished in supernatural fashion.[1] The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch is of interest because of the witness it gives to the currency of notions with which we are otherwise acquainted only through works of considerably later date, such as the feast on the flesh of Behemoth and Leviathan in the days of the Messiah (xxix. 3 ff.),[2] and the fabulous grape vines, every berry of which is to yield whole barrels of wine (vs. 5);[3] or the climactic tribulations that precede the manifestation of the Messiah (xxvii.-xxix.).[4] The Messiah will condemn and put to death the last ruler of the fourth empire (Rome), and rule the people of God till this doomed world comes

[1] The Revelation of John is a work of the same age, kind, and motive.

[2] 4 Esdras vi. 49 ff.; cf. *Baba Bathra* 74*b*. In Enoch lx. 7 f. (a fragment of a Noah Apocalypse) the creatures appear, but in another rôle.

[3] *Kethuboth* 111*b*; Papias in *Iren.* v. 33.

[4] *Sanh.* 97*a*; *Sotah* 49*b*. Cf. Matt. xxiv.; Mark xiii.

to an end (xl. 1-3); into his hands the remnants of the heathen nations will be delivered.[1]

In 4 Esdras the influence of the apocalyptic tradition is stronger; as is seen especially in the vision of the man rising out of the sea, xiii. 1 ff., with its interpretation, vss. 25 ff. In the vision of the many-winged eagle,[2] *i.e.* the Roman empire,[3] the lion from the forest, who in the name of the Most High pronounces judgment on the eagle, is the Messiah.[4] In vii. 28 f. the Syriac version has probably preserved the original reading, "My son, the Messiah" (combining vss. 7 and 2 of Ps. ii.); and here we have the earliest express limit fixed for the duration of his rule (400 years), thus connecting, in a way familiar in rabbinical writings,[5] the golden age of the Jewish nation depicted in the prophets with the eschatological dogmas of the general resurrection and the last judgment which the Pharisees made a touchstone of orthodoxy.

Messianic hope of Akiba.

With the rabbis, as among the masses, the political end—independence and restoration—prevailed. The Jewish insurrections under Trajan took a Messianic character in more than one province. Some Targums, with their emphasis on the militant features of prophecy and pictures of a triumphant warrior Messiah, reflect the situation of the moment. Akiba, the greatest figure of his time, journeyed far and wide to stir up the Jews throughout the world to rise in revolt and to provide the means for the coming struggle. So completely did the idea of the Messiah become identical in his mind with that of a liberator, that he acclaimed as Messiah—"the Star out of Jacob" who should subject Edom (Rome)[6]—the leader of the Jews in the war under Hadrian, Simon bar Koziba (Bar Cocheba), though he was not of Davidic lineage, nor, in rabbinical estimate, a signally religious man.

Messianic hopes discouraged.

The disillusion of the outcome is reflected in the utterances of the teachers in the latter part of the second century. Their faith in God's purpose was unshaken; it had been their mistake.

[1] Baruch lxx. 9; lxxii. 2-6. [2] 4 Ezra xi., xii. [3] 4 Ezra xi. 38 ff.
[4] 4 Ezra xii. 32. [5] See *Sanh.* 99*a*. [6] Num. xxiv. 17 f.

And in the very straits to which they were brought by the Emperor's edicts against the teaching and practice of their religion, in the danger that the unwritten law should sink into oblivion through the execution of the teachers and the lack of students, they saw new signs, added to all the traditional ones, that God's moment to intervene was near. But, warned by the great failure, they resigned themselves to wait for him, and forbade calculations of the time of the end.[1] This, however, lies beyond the horizon of the Book of Acts, and mention of it is in place here only because in most that has been written on the Messianic expectations of the Jews in New Testament times the epochs marked by the destruction of Jerusalem and by the war under Hadrian are ignored, and sayings of all these periods, and sometimes even from the Babylonian schools, are put side by side without discrimination. The wholly false notion, still widely current in popular literature, that the Jewish expectation in the time of Christ was of a leader in wars of liberation and conquest, is chiefly derived from the Targums, and has survived from a time when the latter were thought by scholars to date from the century before our era.

The point in the previous discussion most important for the investigation of early Christianity is that 'Messiah' is essentially an adjective meaning consecrated or appointed by God, and was not the prerogative title of any single person until later than the time of Christ. It was applied in various forms of literature to the expected scion of the house of David, to the supernatural Son of Man, and to the High Priest; but its use does not show that these figures were habitually identified with each other in Jewish thought. It therefore follows that though the title was undoubtedly applied by his disciples to Jesus, their

[1] To this period belongs also the distribution of the twofold rôle of the Messiah of the prophecy between two Messiahs, a warrior-Messiah, descended from Joseph, who should conquer Edom (Rome), but at last fall in battle (Obad. vs. 17 f.; cf. Jer. xlix. 20; combined with Zech. xii. 10-12), and the Davidic Messiah, the peaceful ruler who should follow him.

meaning must be sought from the context in which the word is used rather than from its established significance. In itself, it might merely mean that Jesus was divinely consecrated, without specifying the exact function to which he was appointed.

The study of the Synoptic gospels fails to establish with certainty the exact meaning originally attached to the title by the disciples. They identified Jesus with the anointed Son of Man from heaven, and with the anointed scion of David. Did they always identify him with both, or first with one and then with the other? And when they called him "anointed" did they mean one rather than the other, or both indifferently?

Χριστός in the Synoptic gospels.

In the Synoptic gospels the most remarkable feature of the usage of Χριστός is its comparative rarity. In no passage which can with probability be ascribed to Q is Jesus called Χριστός. In Mark, apart from the title, "the beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ," it is used of Jesus in the "confession of Peter" in viii. 29, "Thou art the Christ"; in ix. 41, "Whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink because ye are Christ's," etc.; the question of the high priest, "Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?" in xiv. 61; and in the mocking by the high priests and the Scribes in xv. 32, "Let the Christ, the King of Israel, come down now from the cross." It is also found in two passages in the mouth of Jesus, but not with reference (or at least direct reference) to himself,—in the question "How do the scribes say that the Christ is a son of David?" in Mark xii. 35, and in the warning against those who say "See here is the Christ," in Mark xiii. 21.

Meaning in Mark.

Few though these passages may be, they leave no doubt but that Mark regards Χριστός as a title of Jesus. The question is what he means by it. What especially did Peter mean at Caesarea Philippi when he said "Thou art the Christ?" Did he mean the Scion of David who was to restore the fortunes of Israel, or did he mean the Son of Man who was appointed to

judge the living and the dead? Or can we otherwise define his meaning? [1]

Suffering of Son of Man foretold.

The difficulty of answering these questions is increased by the natural tendency to interpret Mark by Matthew, but though certainty on all points is unattainable, some conclusions become probable. Jesus replies to Peter by telling the disciples not to say this of him to any one, and goes on to say that the Son of Man [2] must suffer and die, obviously surprising and alarming Peter. The important point in this narrative is the correction of Peter's concept—so obviously implied—of a triumphant 'Anointed one,' by the warning of the approaching Passion. It is tempting to use the phrase 'Son of Man' as a proof that the Anointed one is the Son of Man, rather than the Scion of David. But this is hazardous, for it is probable that 'Son of Man' here is due to the editor, to whom it meant Jesus, and replaces an original 'I.' So far, therefore, as this passage goes it merely proves that the editor realised that the 'anointed one' of whom Peter spoke was not expected to suffer—that he would do so was the revelation of Jesus.[3] It throws no clear light on whether the Christ of Peter's confession was, in Mark's opinion, the Scion of David.

Is Christ the Son of David in Mark xii.?

There is, however, another passage which illuminates this question, and in the complete absence of any positive evidence, seems to turn the scale against the theory that Mark thought that the 'Christ' meant 'the Scion of David.' In Mark xii. 35 it is reported that Jesus said, "How do the scribes say that the Christ is a son of David?" Surely this implies that the Scribes were wrong; in which case it must follow that the writer

[1] See below for the reasons why these two figures, united in Christian thought, should be regarded as originally separate.

[2] On p. 368 the question is discussed whether 'Son of Man' in this passage goes back to Jesus, and it is argued that probably it does not.

[3] This remains true whether we think that Jesus was on this occasion as explicit as the text represents or not. The belief that the Messiah must suffer was Christian, not Jewish, and to establish the belief of the disciples—not necessarily of Jesus—it is immaterial whether they learnt the necessity of the Passion from the words or from the fate of Jesus

certainly held that Jesus was the Messiah, but not the Son of David. The passage is entirely intelligible in view of such documents as the Book of Jubilees which expect a "Messiah" from the house of Levi, and seems to be directed against the Pharisaic revival of the expectation of a Davidic Messiah. It is impossible to explain it as part of a tradition which regarded Jesus as the 'Scion of David.' On the other hand, in Mark x. 47 f. Bartimaeus greets Jesus as the Son of David, and in xi. 10 the crowd at the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem qualify the future kingdom announced by Jesus as "the Kingdom of our father David."

Whether consciously or unconsciously, Mark reveals the fact that though Jesus meant the "Life of the Age to come" by the Kingdom of God, the crowd meant the restored prosperity of Israel, and while he was looking for the judgment of mankind by the Son of Man appointed by God, they were expecting a king of the house of David.

Jesus claimed as a son of David.

The latter strata of the Gospels and the earlier chapters of Acts show that the identification of Jesus with the Scion of David had become a prominent part of Christian belief; to prove the Davidic claim of Jesus is one of the chief objects of the genealogies in Matthew and Luke. But the figure of the Scion of David had coalesced with that of the Son of Man rather than taken its place, and the term 'Christ' covered both. Moreover, this merging of the two figures with each other was the result of their identification with Jesus, not the cause of it. The Anointed Son of Man is the anointed son of David not because the two figures were originally identical, or because 'anointed' was a Jewish title which could only belong to one person, but because Christians found both the Son of Man and the Son of David in Jesus, and therefore were forced to say that the Son of Man is the Son of David and to attribute to either figure everything prophesied or believed of the other.

It is scarcely doubtful but that in this combination, if the foregoing treatment of Mark be correct, the idea of the Son of

David was added to that of the Son of Man, rather than the Son of Man to that of the Son of David. This result is corroborated by the criticism of the other Gospels and Acts. The Davidic theory is central in the genealogies, but there is little or nothing in its favour elsewhere.[1] Similarly in the speeches it is prominent in Acts ii. and xiii., but is not clearly found in those in Acts iii. and vii. or x.; on the contrary, in iii. and x. the general characteristics ascribed to Jesus are those of the Son of Man, though this word is not used.[2]

Belief in the resurrection helps identification of Son of Man and of David.

Though scarcely within the strict limits of this discussion it is not entirely out of place to note how the belief in the resurrection helped to link together the figure of the Son of Man and the Scion of David. Taken by themselves these two could not describe the same person. The Son of Man came from heaven, where he had existed from the creation. The Scion of David was born, a man among men. But the belief in the resurrection at least partly cleared away this difficulty. After it, Jesus was in heaven and could come, as the Son of Man was expected to do, on the clouds.

It therefore seems probable that Jesus did not claim to be or consider himself to be the "Davidic Messiah." He seems by his question, "How say the scribes that the Messiah is David's son?" to throw doubt on the whole "Davidic" expectation. If he accepted Peter's "confession" that he was the Messiah, he did so either in the sense of Son of Man, or in the sense of one "consecrated" to suffering rather than as a Davidic king. But the mind of the people, like that of Bartimaeus, was filled

[1] The conversation between the disciples on the way to Emmaus and the risen Jesus seems to be directed toward the Davidic theory: "'We had hoped that it was he who should redeem Israel' . . . 'O fools and blind,' etc." Luke xxiv. 21-25.

[2] Cf. especially iii. 20 f.: "Until the times of refreshing come from the face of the Lord, and he send Jesus the Messiah foreordained for you, whom heaven must receive until the times of the restoration of all things." This is the Son of Man, not the Scion of David. So also x. 42: "This is he who has been appointed by God as judge of the living and the dead." There could not be a better description of the function of the 'Son of Man,' but it is quite inapplicable to the Jewish expectation of the Son of David.

with the hope of the Davidic dynasty, and the Christians who first of all regarded Jesus as the anointed Son of Man, the judge of the world, came [1] soon to accept the popular expectation and to regard Jesus as the anointed Scion of David as well as the Son of Man. The word 'the anointed' becomes a general title covering both these concepts. It was soon also connected with the figure of the Suffering Servant, the attributes of which coalesced with those of the Son of Man and of the Son of David, and shared with them the title 'Christ.'

Χριστός another name for Jesus.

Before long, indeed, the word Χριστός ceased to have any special meaning in Greek circles. It became, generally speaking, only another name for Jesus, and if there was sometimes a recollection that it was not a name but a title, it was merely a general description covering any functions which were ascribed to Jesus. This was the easier because, as has been shown, there were no special functions exclusively connected with the word in Jewish thought.

To this stage must have belonged the editor of Acts as distinct from the sources which he used: to him Christ is a second name for Jesus.[2] It is only either when, as it were, he stops to think, or when he is reproducing his sources, that he uses the word as a title. This is not strange; but it is very remarkable that the Pauline epistles show the same development. In them, too, 'Christ' is almost always a proper name. It is hard to interpret Paul's use except as a deliberate concession to Greek

[1] It is possible that this process was hastened by the conversion to Christianity of Jews who had maintained the claims of the Davidic dynasty against the Hasmoneans or the Herods. The monuments of this tendency are to be found in the Psalms of Solomon as compared with Jubilees or the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: those who had defended it may have taken it over with them into Christianity.

[2] In Acts ii. 38, iii. 6, iv. 10, ix. 34, x. 48, xi. 17, xv. 26, xvi. 18 (xx. 21), xxiv. 24, xxviii. 31, Χριστός is used as a proper name; they are all passages referring to some formula of faith, usually in connection with baptism or exorcism. On the other hand, in ii. 36, iii. 18, iii. 20, ix. 22, xvii. 3, xviii. 5, xviii. 28, xxvi. 23, Χριστός is used as a title, and to this list ii. 31, v. 42, and viii. 5 ought probably to be added, though they may be otherwise interpreted; it is far more probable that these represent the use of the sources used by the editor and that the Christian formulae of faith have been accommodated to the practice of his own time.

weakness: he was too much in earnest to stop to teach the meaning of a strange word; he accepted Χριστός as a name and used Κύριος to give the meaning of the Jewish idea.

Thus it becomes necessary to trace the meaning and connotations of these other titles—Son of Man and Servant—in order to see how much they represent in the earliest thought of the disciples, and how they were treated by Gentiles who had no previous knowledge of their meaning.

Son of Man.

The phrase *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, the Son of Man, is as devoid of intelligible meaning in Greek as it is in English. It clearly is a literal translation of the Aramaic *Bar-nash* or *Bar-nasha*. This phrase means in Aramaic 'man' just as בן אדם does in Hebrew. In Rabbinical Aramaic it is used to introduce an unnamed person at the beginning of a narrative as 'a certain man.' If it were desired to refer to this person later in the story it would be necessary in Aramaic to prefix a demonstrative pronoun when Greek would simply use the definite article.

This use of the word is found in Daniel vii. 9-14.

Son of Man in Daniel.

I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened. I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake: I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame. As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away: yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time. I saw in the night visions, and behold, one like a son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.

The meaning is that at the end of the judgment, which is held by the 'Ancient of Days'—that is by God, represented as

an aged man—the beasts of the earlier part of the vision lose either their power or their life, and universal dominion is given to another supernatural figure in human form—a 'Son of Man.' The further explanation of the vision in Daniel vii. 23 ff. shows what is meant.

> Thus he said, The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down and break it in pieces. And the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise: and another shall rise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings. And he shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given unto his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time. But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end. And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.

That is to say, the beast is some Gentile Kingdom, the horn is possibly Antiochus Epiphanes, and the man in the first passage quoted is the people of Israel.

The difficult question here is not the actual meaning, which is obvious, but whether the beasts and the man are merely figures of speech or represent realities in the mind of the writer. When the ancients spoke of a beast in Heaven or in the abyss as representing Babylon or Rome, did they mean this as a metaphor? Or, believing that events on earth corresponded to events in Heaven, did they think that there were supra-mundane creatures whose activities and conflicts in Heaven affected the nations corresponding to them on earth? In support of the latter view is the effect on the destiny of Israel of the struggle in Heaven between its angel Michael and the "Angel of Persia."[1]

In no case, however, can this vision have any connexion with the expectation in the early prophets of an ideal king of the

[1] Daniel x. 13 ff.

House of David. The 'man' is not the king of Israel; he is Israel itself, and the only question is whether Israel on earth is not supposed to have a heavenly representative in human form whose exaltation in heaven corresponds to the exaltation of Israel on earth.

Similitudes of Enoch.

Between this passage in Daniel and the Similitudes of Enoch [1] there is certainly some connexion, though not very close either in thought or language. In the present form the Similitudes have been compounded with an apocalypse of Noah, so that sometimes Noah and sometimes Enoch is speaking, and there is in several places more than a suspicion that the text, in any case that of a translation, has suffered severely, both by omission and by interpolation. The tenor of the book is a description of the judgment on the wicked and the glories promised to the righteous at the end of the Age. The phrase the 'Age to Come' does not play so important a part as it does in 4 Ezra, but it is definitely mentioned in Enoch lxxi., and it is clearly intended in the general description at the beginning,[2] "I will transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light, and I will transform the earth and make it a blessing."

Part of the vision of this coming Age is concerned with an Elect One, who will preside at the judgment which must come first, and will be the centre of the society of the righteous who will inherit the transformed earth. In his vision Enoch is shown this Elect One in heaven with the "Lord of Spirits," in the form of a man—a "son of man" in Semitic phraseology—and henceforward throughout the Similitudes the Elect One is frequently referred to as 'that Son of Man.' [3] As the text stands now two views are taken of the Elect One. According to one,[4] he was

[1] Enoch xxxvii. to lxxi.

[2] Enoch xlv. 4.

[3] Dr. Charles in an appendix to the second edition of his *The Book of Enoch*, pp. 306 ff., dissents from this view. He thinks that in Enoch, as in the New Testament, 'Son of man' is a title, not a description. His opinion has of course great value, for no one living has spent more time or skill on the study of Enoch, but in this case the facts as presented in his own translation seem to be decisively against him.

[4] Enoch xlviii. 6

" chosen and hidden before him (God) before the creation of the world and for evermore." According to the other, Enoch himself is " that son of man." [1]

These two views are of course irreconcilable. It is thought by some [2] that the second is merely due to textual accident; but if so the accident must have been on a large scale, and in any case it is quite impossible to reconcile every statement in Enoch.

The main point, however, for the student of Christianity is fairly plain. The Elect One is a man, who is now in heaven, and will come to the earth at the end of this world, to judge and condemn the wicked and to reign over the righteous in the world to come. His description is probably borrowed from Daniel; and there is no visible connexion between him and the king of the Davidic family foretold by the earlier prophets. That in two passages [3] he is called 'the anointed' does not alter the obvious fact that a man pre-existent in heaven from the creation cannot be a descendant of David.[4]

In 4 Ezra xiii. 1 there is a famous passage which may be connected with the Son of Man, of Daniel, and Enoch. 4 Ezra.

And it came to pass after seven days that I dreamed a dream by night: and I beheld and lo! there arose a violent wind from the sea, and stirred all its waves. And I beheld, and lo! the wind caused to come up out of the heart of the seas as it were the form of

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[1] Enoch lxxi. 14. " Thou art that son of man who is born into righteousness . . . he proclaims unto thee peace in the name of the world to come, for from hence has proceeded peace since the creation of the world."

[2] Notably Dr. R. H. Charles, who emends the text accordingly.

[3] Enoch xlviii. 10, and lii. 4. Both these passages are obscure. It is in fact open to question whether the 'Anointed' of xlviii. 10 really refers to the Elect One. The passage is a loose quotation from Ps. ii. 2, and it is not easy to see how the 'kings of the earth' can be said to have denied the Elect One. Is it not possible that 'the anointed' is merely part of the quotation, with no essential bearing on the context in Enoch? In lii. 4 there seems to be a doublet in the narrative, and Charles and Beer suggest plausible theories of different 'sources.' See R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, ed. 2, 1912, pp. 64 and 101.

[4] See further, p. 373. Of course in Christian theology the difficulty was surmounted by the doctrine of miraculous birth, by which the pre-existent Lord was born into the family of David. But there is no trace of any such expectation in Enoch or anywhere else in Jewish literature.

a man. And I beheld, and lo! this Man flew with the clouds of heaven. And wherever he turned his countenance to look everything seen by him trembled; and whithersoever the voice went out of his mouth, all that heard his voice melted away, as the wax melts when it feels the fire. And after this I beheld, and lo! there was gathered together from the four winds of heaven an innumerable multitude of men to make war against the Man that came up out of the sea. And I beheld, and lo! he cut out for himself a great mountain and flew up upon it. But I sought to see the region or place from whence the mountain had been cut out; and I could not. And after this I beheld, and lo! all who were gathered together against him to wage war with him were seized with great fear; yet they dared to fight. And lo! when he saw the assault of the multitude as they came he neither lifted his hand, nor held spear nor any warlike weapon; but I saw only how he sent out of his mouth as it were a fiery stream, and out of his lips a flaming breath, and out of his tongue he shot forth a storm of sparks. And these were all mingled together—the fiery stream, the flaming breath, and the storm, and fell upon the assault of the multitude which was prepared to fight, and burned them all up, so that suddenly nothing more was to be seen of the innumerable multitude save only dust of ashes and smell of smoke. When I saw this I was amazed. Afterwards I beheld the same Man come down from the mountain, and call unto him another multitude which was peaceable. Then drew nigh unto him the faces of many men, some of whom were glad, some sorrowful; while some were in bonds, some brought others who should be offered.

The commentators on 4 Ezra have naturally been more concerned with the attempt to discover its 'sources' than the mind of its editor. But for the student of Christianity the mind of the editor, who was probably almost exactly contemporary with the apostles, is more important than doubtful though interesting *Quellenkritik*; fortunately it is not impossible to discover. The editor makes the Almighty describe the Man of this vision as his Son, whom he clearly identifies with the Anointed One, who figures as a Lion in chapter xii., and whose reign is described in chapter vii. In this last place it is stated definitely that "my son, the Anointed one, will die" at the end of this Age.

It is therefore plain that the writer of 4 Ezra was thinking of the judgment of destruction on the heathen and the prosperity

of Israel in the period known to the Rabbis as "the days of the Messiah," not of the final judgment which, as he says elsewhere, will usher in the Age to come. This is the great difference between "the Man" of 4 Ezra and "that Son of Man" who is the Elect One of Enoch. The Elect One of Enoch ushers in the End and the Age to come: "the Man," who is the Anointed One, the "Son," of 4 Ezra ushers in the limited "days of the Messiah."

Son of Man and the Davidic Messiah

The question arises whether the 'Son of Man' can have been identified by the writers with the Davidic Messiah. To see the matter in its proper proportions it is essential to remember that the important point is not the use of the title משיח or of בר נשא, but the identification of functions and personality. משיח means anointed, *i.e.* consecrated, and בר נשא means '*a man*.' It certainly never would have struck a Jew as reasonable to say that these words could only apply to one person. The difficult question is not whether the Son of Man was called "Anointed," but whether the Jews identified him with the anointed Davidic King of the earlier prophets. The later Rabbis seem to have used the phrase 'Cloud-man,' referring to Daniel vii. 13, as a title of the Davidic Messiah, and the Christians found both in Jesus. But was it always so? A protest may be raised against the tendency of some writers to obscure the fact that this is the true problem. For they constantly use the word Messiah to describe the 'Man' in the apocalyptic books, and imply (though probably they do not always mean to do so) that the combination of the eschatological figure with the Davidic Messiah was made before the Christian period.

The facts are obscure, and no single line of thought seems to have been universally followed. In some circles Persian eschatology probably replaced the prophetic anticipation of the restoration of a Davidic Kingdom, in others elaborate combinations and conflations were made. At any rate in the Similitudes of Enoch the Son of Man is clearly connected with the great day of judgment at the end of the Age, and with the resurrection

which opens the Door of Life to those who are worthy of the Age to come. He is anointed of God for this purpose, but this purpose is wholly different from that for which the Anointed prince of the house of David was appointed, and there is no sufficient reason to suppose that the writer of the Similitudes was incapable of thinking that God had consecrated different persons for different purposes. That at a later period Christians who regarded 'Anointed' as the unique title of Jesus identified 'Son of Man' and 'Son of David' is natural.

The use of Son of Man in the Gospels

In the gospels 'Son of Man' is always found in the mouth of Jesus: it is never used in narrative concerning him. In Acts[1] it is only used once in a passage which refers to the exalted Jesus, but is an obvious reference to his words before the Sanhedrim.[2] In the epistles it is never found. The opinion of the writers of the gospels is thus clear that Jesus used the phrase; that he used it of himself; and that for unexplained reasons it was not used by his disciples in speaking of him. The important questions are whether Jesus really used it; if he did so, what meaning was attached to it by him; and what by the writers of the gospels.

Use by Jesus.

The first of these questions can be answered simply. Few things are so probable as the use of Son of Man by Jesus. It is found in his mouth in all the earlier strata of the gospels, as well as in the later ones. This does not prove that he applied the phrase to himself or on all the occasions on which it is attributed to him in the gospels; but it certainly shows that he used it either of himself or of some one else. Moreover—to assume the result of later inquiry—the fact that the generation of Greek Christians who produced our present gospels did not fully know the meaning or connotation of the phrase proves that they cannot have invented its use by Jesus.

The two other questions can scarcely be separated, and can only be approached by a general analysis of the use of the phrase in the earlier strata of the gospels, and by a comparison of it with Jewish usage.

[1] Acts vii. 56. [2] Luke xxii. 69.

The material for this analysis is best supplied by the following tabular statements. In them the first division gives the references to the use of 'Son of Man' in Mark together with the parallel passages in Matthew and Luke, and a short description of the kind of use made of the phrase, stating whether it merely means 'man,' or refers to the Passion or the Parousia. Two passages are included in this list where Son of Man is not Marcan, but is introduced by Matthew into the Marcan text. The second division gives similar references to passages found both in Matthew and Luke, and generally attributed to Q. The third and fourth to passages found only in Matthew or Luke respectively.

I. *Marcan Passages*

		Mk.		Mt.		Lk.
	=man	ii. 10	=	ix. 6	=	v. 24
	=man	ii. 28	=	xii. 8	=	vi. 5
Matthaean	change	(viii. 27)	=	xvi. 13	=	(ix. 18)
	Passion	viii. 31	=	(xvi. 21)	=	ix. 22
	Parousia	viii. 38	=	xvi. 27	=	ix. 26
Matthaean	change	(ix. 1)	=	xvi. 28	=	(ix. 27)
	Passion	ix. 9	=	xvii. 9		..
	Passion	ix. 12	=	xvii. 12		..
	Passion	ix. 31	=	xvii. 22	=	ix. 44
	Passion	x. 33	=	xx. 18	=	xviii. 31
(Lk. puts 'I')	Passion	x. 45	=	xx. 28	=	(xxii. 27)
	Parousia	xiii. 26	=	xxiv. 30	=	xxi. 27
"The Son"	Parousia	xiii. 32	=	(xxiv. 36)		..
	Passion	xiv. 21	=	xxvi. 24	=	xxii. 22
	Passion	xiv. 41	=	xxvi. 45		..
	Parousia	xiv. 62	=	xxvi. 64	=	xxii. 69

II. *Passages in Q*

	Mt.		Lk.
—'I'	viii. 20	=	ix. 58
—'I'	xi. 19	=	vii. 34
—man	xii. 32	=	xii. 10
The Sign of Jonah—I	xii. 40	=	xi. 30
Parousia	xix. 28	=	(xxii. 30)
Parousia	xxiv. 27	=	xvii. 24
Parousia	xxiv. 37	=	xvii. 26
Parousia	xxiv. 44	=	xii. 40

III. *Peculiar to Matthew*

Parousia	x. 23
= 'I'	xiii. 37
Parousia	xiii. 41
(Not in WH) —'I'	xviii. 11
Parousia	xxiv. 30
Parousia	xxv. 31
Passion	xxvi. 2

IV. *Peculiar to Luke*

(Not in WH) = 'I'	ix. 56
Passion or Parousia	xvii. 22
(Possibly Q) Parousia	xvii. 30
Parousia	xviii. 8
= 'I'	xix. 10
Parousia	xxi. 36
= 'I'	xxii. 48
Passion	xxiv. 7

Mark and Q.

The most valuable hint to be derived from these statistics as to the probable significance of the title in the mouth of Jesus is supplied by comparing the passages in the first two divisions, from Mark and Q; for, where these agree, if anywhere, trustworthy information is given. From this comparison it appears at once that in both there is a series of passages in which 'Son of Man' is used in connexion with the Parousia. He is to come unexpectedly on the clouds of heaven, seated at the right hand of power.

The Son of Man and the Passion.

In Mark, but not in Q, there are equally noticeable passages in which the name of Son of Man is connected not with the Parousia, but with the Passion.

The Son of Man—I.

Besides these passages, in which 'Son of Man' is connected either with the Parousia or the Passion, there are three, two in Mark and one in Q, in which the original meaning of Son of Man seems to have been 'a man,' representing the Aramaic *Bar-nasha*. And there are also others, both in Mark, Q, and places probably due to the redactors, in which the words as they stand are simply a periphrasis for the first person, though it is possible sometimes to see that the original meaning was different.

Comparing the synoptic usage with the Jewish, the first and third of the phenomena in the gospels become intelligible, but the second remains obscure. The passages referring to the Parousia have a striking resemblance to Jewish usage as found in the Apocalypses. There is a close resemblance in language to Daniel, but the thought is even closer to the Similitudes of Enoch. The likeness to 4 Ezra is much more remote, for in the gospels, as in Daniel and Enoch, the 'Son of Man' comes from heaven, while in 4 Ezra he rises from the sea. This has some bearing on the question whether the kingdom whose coming was announced by Jesus was the Age to come or the Days of the Messiah. None of the passages in which Son of Man is found is decisively in favour of either view, but the apocalyptic section of Mark xiii. seems to point to the coming of the Son of Man at the "End"—that is the end of this Age—to bring in the Age to come. It is therefore all the more important that the Son of Man in the references to the Parousia in the gospels resembles the figure in Enoch rather than in 4 Ezra: for in Enoch he certainly belongs to the judgment before the Age to come, while in 4 Ezra he seems rather to usher in the Days of the Messiah.

Comparison of Jewish and Synoptic usage.

This close connexion of the Son of Man with the Parousia is the most clearly primitive point in the Gospel tradition. It is found in both the earliest strata in the tradition—Mark and Q—and it is immediately explicable by reference to contemporary Jewish thought.

The Son of Man and the Parousia.

It is quite clear from the general context that the writer in these passages understands Jesus to refer to himself, but the sentence is generally so turned that this would not necessarily have been clear to the original hearer of Jesus. In Mark xiv. 62 Jesus admits that he is the Messiah, speaking in the first person, and goes on to speak of the Son of Man in the third person: but whether he identifies the Son of Man with himself is not clear. In xiii. 26 there is nothing, except the tradition of exegesis, to show that Jesus meant himself when he said that the last sign of

the end would be the appearance of the Son of Man in the clouds. In viii. 38 Jesus says, "Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and my words in this generation, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed when he comes in the glory of his Father." Here, as in xiv. 62, the natural interpretation would surely be that the speaker, who is using the first person, cannot be the same as the Son of Man of whom he speaks in the third.

Son of Man in Gospels = Messiah.

This is important, because in the oldest stratum of the gospels it is clear that Jesus made the repentance of his hearers the object of his mission. Whatever may be the exact relation between the Enochian Son of Man and the Messiah, it is impossible to reconcile the 'Messianic secret' with an open assertion of identity with the Son of Man of the Apocalypses. But, if the references to the Son of Man in the teaching of Jesus were ambiguous on this point, much difficulty is removed, though necessarily at the expense of an added doubt as to his real meaning. But this doubt does not apply to the writers of the gospels. It is clear that they regarded Jesus as the Son of Man who would come in the clouds of heaven, and these references to his Parousia are wholly intelligible in the light of Jewish thought.

Son of Man = a man (*a*) the Sabbath.

Equally clear is the evidence that in some passages 'Son of Man' in the Greek Gospels is due to the literal translation of an Aramaic tradition in which *Bar-nasha* had been used, but—originally at least—with no reference to Apocalyptic usage. It had meant 'man' in the ordinary sense, but either in Greek translation or possibly in some earlier Aramaic stage, was taken to mean Jesus himself. The clearest instance of this is Mark ii. 28 when the disciples had offended the Pharisees by plucking corn on the Sabbath. The defence offered by Jesus is that David had broken the Law when hunger had made it necessary, and he went on to say, "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath, so that the son of man is Lord even of the Sabbath." This argument does not state that the Sabbath was made for man because he, as the Son of Man, is Lord over the Sabbath, but on the contrary concludes that man

has power over the Sabbath because it had been instituted for his benefit. The question at issue had nothing to do with the position of Jesus, but with the inherent rights of the disciples as men. The saying of Jesus means "man is Lord of the Sabbath, which was created for his sake," and the phrase "Son of Man" in it clearly means "Man" and is due to a mistaken literal rendering of *bar-nasha*. It is of course quite probable that the writer of the Greek Mark understood the phrase to refer to Jesus, but if so the ὥστε betrays his mistake: it is noteworthy that Matthew felt the inappropriateness (from his point of view) of the ὥστε and corrected it to γάρ, thus treating as the premiss of the argument what was originally (and is so even in Mark) a conclusion from it.

(*b*) Forgiveness.

A similar instance is probably to be seen in Mark ii. 10,— the story of the paralytic who was lowered down through the roof. Jesus said, "Thy sins are forgiven thee," and thus outraged the feeling of the Pharisees who said that no one can forgive sins except God. The answer of Jesus was to cure the paralytic in order to show that "the Son of Man has power on earth to forgive sins." Christian opinion has usually inclined to agree with the Pharisees as to the forgiveness of sin, but there is no trace in the story that Jesus was claiming to have power denied to other men, though no doubt the evangelists interpreted his saying in that way, and therefore perpetuated it. The objection of the Pharisees was that Jesus, being human, was blasphemously arrogating to himself divine power by a claim, unsupported by proof, to forgive sin; his answer was to cure the paralytic and allege that this was a proof not that he was divine, but that the claim to forgive sin was within human competence. Thus in its Greek form the narrative seems to be based on a misunderstanding of *Bar-nasha*. It is curious that Matthew seems in this case to preserve a trace of the original meaning of the story in his concluding comment that the multitude glorified God "who had given such power to men."

(c) In Q.

That this influence of mistranslation was not peculiar to Mark, but also affected Q, can be shown by comparison of Mark iii. 28 f. with Matt. xii. 31 f. and Luke xii. 10. Mark reads, "Verily I say unto you all their sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, . . . but whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit hath never forgiveness." Matthew repeats this statement, merely reading 'men' for 'sons of men' and slightly modifying the construction, but adds to it a second statement "and whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of Man it shall be forgiven him, but whosoever shall speak against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the world to come." Luke also preserves this additional verse, but repeats it instead of, not in addition to, the Marcan version. It is tolerably plain that it comes from Q, and that Matthew and Luke, recognising its identity with the Marcan story, followed their usual editorial method: Matthew by combining the two versions, and Luke by selecting one of them. The tradition has obviously been confused by doubt as to how to render an Aramaic *Bar-nasha*. Mark correctly took it as meaning man in general; Q regarded it as the personal 'Son of Man,' and produced a rendering which no one has ever yet been able reasonably to explain, not unnaturally, for it is a mistranslation, and mistranslations are commonly obscure.

These passages point to the introduction of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου into Greek documents by the literal unidiomatic translation of *Bar-nasha*. A preference for idiomatic rendering perhaps explains the absence of the phrase in the Pauline epistles. All the essentials of the eschatological doctrine connoted by the apocalyptic Son of Man are found in Paul, but not the phrase itself. Is not this because he was too good a Grecian to translate *Bar-nasha* by so impossible a phrase as ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, and rendered it idiomatically by ὁ ἄνθρωπος? When for instance he speaks in 1 Cor. xv. 47 of the second "man" as the Lord from Heaven, is he not thinking of the *Bar-nasha* of Enoch?

These problems can be explained by the linguistic peculiarities

of Aramaic, just as the references to the Son of Man in connexion with the Parousia can be explained by Apocalyptic imagery. But the passages connecting the Son of Man with the Passion cannot be accounted for in either way, and they are the most serious difficulty in the whole problem.

(*d*) Suffering and death of the Son of Man.

The question is whether the predictions in these passages are the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus, or the later interpretation of his words. They are all in Mark, except one passage in Matthew and one in Luke, both of which are clearly editorial and imitate the style of Mark.[1] All are based on the same model—the words ascribed to Jesus immediately after the 'Confession of Peter' at Caesarea Philippi. "And he began to teach them, saying, the Son of Man must suffer many things, and be rejected by the elders and the high priests and the scribes and be put to death, and rise again after three days."

The prediction is explicit and precise: it could not possibly be misunderstood by any one. But the student of tradition—especially religious tradition—is aware that predictions are often given explicit precision by an *ex post facto* knowledge of the event. Whether this was so in the tradition of Jesus' prediction of his death and resurrection can best be tested by the conduct of his disciples. Did they behave at the time of his death and resurrection as though he had exactly foretold each event? Certainly they did not. Moreover, the context of the predictions often implies that the disciples did not immediately grasp the meaning of the words.[2] No one acquainted with the general growth of tradition can doubt that this means that sayings, obscure at the time, have been made clear in the light of the subsequent events. The records as we have them give

[1] Matt. xxvi. 2 and Luke xxiv. 7. Reference may also be made to the strange phrase peculiar to Luke in Luke xvii. 22. "Ye shall desire to see one of the days of the Son of Man." As it stands it probably means to "see again the time when Jesus was on earth," but the context—the description of the signs leading up to the coming of the Son of Man—suggests that in the source it was not "one of the days" but "the day of the Son of Man."

[2] See Mark ix. 10 and ix. 32.

not the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus, but the meaning put upon them by the disciples or by the evangelists. The recognition of this fact suggests that though Jesus did speak to his disciples of his coming rejection by the Jewish leaders, and of his ultimate triumph, he did not define the details of either with the accuracy of the present documents.

Application of phrase Son of Man.

The general principle that these sayings have been edited in the light of subsequent events is often accepted, but difference is always likely to exist as to its detailed application to the phrase Son of Man.

(*a*) Did Jesus understand it other than Enoch or 4 Ezra?

One possibility is that the delineation of the Son of Man in the mind of Jesus was really different from that in Enoch or in 4 Ezra. According to this view, he taught that the Son of Man would appear first as an ordinary man, not on the clouds of heaven, and would be rejected with contumely, but afterwards be glorified and revealed in power by the act of God. The drawback to this view is that it gives to the Son of Man characteristics not merely absent from, but wholly foreign to the picture of him in Enoch, and in Ezra, and also to the descriptions of the Parousia in the gospels. This was inevitable for Christians after the event, when Son of Man had come to mean Jesus, and therefore everything which had happened to Jesus had necessarily happened to the Son of Man. It seems less likely to be traceable to Jesus himself.

(*b*) Was the phrase added subsequently?

The alternative is to suggest that the phrase, Son of Man, is part of the detail added by Christians to the Marcan predictions. But this presents two possibilities: it may be part of the Aramaic tradition, or it may be due to Greek Christians, who introduced Son of Man into these passages without any clear perception of its connotation. But it is not necessary to decide between these last possibilities. Obviously, as soon as the faith in the Resurrection spread, it was inevitable that the doctrine of the Son of Man would be modified by its light. The only way in which the disciples could maintain that Jesus was the Son of Man was to maintain also that he was destined to suffer, die, and

rise again to heaven, whence he would come again on the clouds. But until all sense of the original meaning of the phrase was lost it would be natural for the disciples to keep Son of Man as the title of the glorified Jesus. Therefore, so far as this probability goes, it gives some support to the view that the connexion of Son of Man with the predictions of suffering belongs to Greek Christians, who had failed to appreciate the full meaning of the phrase.[1] It became to them merely the obscure and mysterious title which Jesus had traditionally used of himself, and though it was not used in speaking of him, was put into his own mouth on many inappropriate occasions.

The Suffering Servant and the Son of Man.

There remains the question whether this amplification of the connotation of Son of Man is due to the literary influence of the figure of the Suffering Servant, or to the actual facts of the Passion. The argument in favour of the former theory is that it is consistent with Christian tradition, and that there seems no other literary source to account for the facts. The strongest argument against it is that there is no clear reference to the Suffering Servant in the early strata of the Gospels, though the writers were not prone to conceal their opinion when they saw a fulfilment of prophecy. It is of course immaterial for this question whether the amplification of the idea conveyed by the name Son of Man so as to include suffering was made by Jesus, foreseeing his own sufferings, or by his disciples afterwards. The point is that it was the knowledge of the Passion, whether prophetic or historic, not the interpretation of Isaiah liii., which produced the gospel narrative.

The most probable theory seems to be that Jesus spoke

[1] How completely this is true of the next generation can be seen in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, Apologists, and writers of the end of the second century. 'Son of Man' is hardly ever used: it becomes, however, in Irenæus complementary to 'Son of God' and refers to the Incarnation. This is not because the idea of judgment originally connected with the phrase has been lost: it is still emphasised (cf. the opening verses of 2 Clement), but the phrase itself had lost its original meaning, and was in process of acquiring a new one in the light of new doctrines which it was afterwards used to corroborate.

of his future sufferings in general terms, and that his disciples developed his sayings in accordance with the event. The editors of the Gospels, or possibly the writers of their sources, used Son of Man indiscriminately as a periphrasis for the first person in the sayings of Jesus, and connected it with his predictions of suffering. Probably they had at first no passage in the Old Testament in mind. That the Messiah or the Son of Man should suffer according to the Scriptures is not a Jewish doctrine, and the fact that Jesus did suffer preceded the discovery of suitable prophecies.

The suffering Servant.

Throughout the last centuries of its national existence the misfortunes of Israel were reflected in its literature by many vivid descriptions of the sufferings of the righteous. In earlier days prosperity had been considered the reward of piety; it now began to be seen that though suffering is connected with sin the punishment does not always fall on the immediate sinner in proportion to his guilt. On the contrary, in this world, it is often the righteous who suffer, and the sinners who prosper. The problem which arose from this fact was dealt with in several ways by the Jews, and the progress in thought which they showed in their writings does not always correspond to the chronological order of the books. The two lines of importance for the study of the New Testament are that which connects suffering with the hope of resurrection and that which connects it with the service of God. Of these the first has much importance for Christian thought generally, but does not seem to bear directly on the growth of Christology; the second is intimately connected with it, especially in Luke and Acts.

In the O.T.

In the parts of the Old Testament which develop this relation of suffering with service considerable importance attaches to the word "Servant of the Lord" (*παῖς κυρίου*). This phrase did not originally connote suffering: it is applied to Abraham, Moses, Job (in the days of his prosperity), David, and others, and collectively to the people as a whole, or sometimes to the

"pious remnant." But the course of history seems to have impressed Israel with the close connexion which existed between the service of the Lord and suffering, and the consciousness of this connexion reached its highest literary expression in the Psalter and in the second part of Isaiah. It is possible that the Wisdom of Solomon ought to be added to these. Especially in the second chapter where the persecution of the righteous man by the wicked is described, he is called the παῖς κυρίου, and there seems to be an allusion to the Suffering Servant of Isaiah, but in the immediate context[1] he is described as υἱὸς θεοῦ, and it is therefore possible that here παῖς means 'son' rather than 'servant.'

In none of these, however, do the writers appear to have had in mind any prophetic description of a great Sufferer, and certainly had no idea of relating their descriptions of suffering to the Davidic Messiah or to the Son of Man in the Apocalypses. The Psalms appear to be intended as descriptions of the suffering of David, regarded as the type of the righteous sufferer in all ages, whom God would in the end rescue. Whether the writers really had David continually in mind or not is immaterial: it was certainly the general view of the first century A.D. In the "Servant" passages of Isaiah the meaning of the writer is open to dispute. He may have had in mind the sufferings of some historic personage; many names have been suggested; for most an equally good or bad case can be made out. But if so, he was describing the past, not predicting the future. He cannot have been thinking of the Messiah, and probably had never heard of the 'Son of Man' as he appears in Daniel or Enoch. Jewish interpretation, which for the exposition of the New Testament is far more important than the real meaning of the Old Testament, seems always to have looked on the 'Suffering Servant' as the personification of the righteous in Israel, who are oppressed in this world and suffer for the sins of their nation, but will in the end be redeemed by the God in whom they

Not Messianic.

[1] See p. 388.

trusted, and be rewarded in the world to come. Similarly in the Wisdom of Solomon [1] the righteous man who calls himself the παῖς of the Lord and claims God as his father, and in the end is reckoned among the sons of God, is obviously the personification of the whole number of righteous who suffer in this life.

The Christian interpretation of these passages was quite different. Everything was referred to Jesus, and the descriptions of the suffering of the righteous, especially in the Psalms and in Isaiah, were interpreted as prophecies of his Passion, since he was considered to be the 'Suffering Servant' in 2 Isaiah, as well as the Messiah, or Davidic King, and the Son of Man of the Apocalyptic hope. The attributes of each of these three figures became interchangeable, and all found their complete fulfilment in Jesus.

The identification of Jesus with the Sufferer.

The problem which faces the investigator of the New Testament is to trace the process by which this identification of the Sufferer with Jesus was first made. Can we distinguish any special parts of the Old Testament as having first influenced Christian thought? Do the books of the New Testament differ from each other in this respect?

Mark.

In Mark and in Q there are no clear signs of any identification of Jesus with the sufferer of Isaiah liii.[2] It has, however, been argued that the use of the word (παραδίδωμι) in Mark xiv. 18, 21, etc., is connected with the constant use of the same word in Isaiah liii. If there were other clear references to Isaiah liii. this would be plausible, but in their absence it is not convincing; the word is not rare, there is no trace of a quotation, and it is hard to see what other word the writer could naturally have used. It seems far more likely that παραδίδωμι was used as the most natural word, though probably it afterwards did much to strengthen the Christian interpretation of Isaiah when the coincidence in language was noted. It has also been thought that

[1] Wisd. ii. 12 ff.

[2] It is scarcely necessary to say that the quotation of Is. liii. 12 in Mk. xv. 28 is not part of the true text, but is an interpolation from Lk. xxii. 37.

there may be an allusion to Isaiah liii. 12 in Mark x. 45 (" to give his life a ransom for many ") ; but the words are not the same, and it seems no more justifiable to find an allusion to Isaiah than an interpolation from Paul. The idea that a leader is willing to die for his followers is neither new nor strange : the remarkable thing in Mark is the use of λύτρον and this is not found in Isaiah.

The one clear reference in Mark to the Old Testament literature of suffering is the cry of Jesus on the Cross from the Aramaic of Psalm xxii., " My God, my God, why hast thou deserted me." There has been much discussion of this passage. Of course, if the view [1] is accepted that it is not historical, but that Jesus died with a loud cry which the evangelist interpreted as the Psalmist's words, it would prove that Mark interpreted the Psalm as a prophecy of Jesus, or of the Messiah, and that he " wrote up " the story of the Passion from this point of view. Yet few things seem more improbable than that any early Christian should have invented a final cry of despair by Jesus. Invention would have produced a cry of resignation or of triumph as in the Fourth Gospel. But if this cry be historical it cannot be taken as evidence as to the Christology of Mark, for there is nothing else in his narrative which connects Jesus with Psalm xxii. According to Mark the Jews at the Cross mocked Jesus as a false Messiah. " He saved others, himself he cannot save. The Messiah ! The King of Israel ! Let him now come down from the cross, that we may see and believe." There is nothing here reminiscent of Psalm xxii. But to any one who reflected on the words from the Cross the change to the narrative in Matthew would be very easy. " He saved others ; himself he cannot save. He is the King of Israel, let him come down now from the Cross, and let us believe on him. He trusted in God ; let him deliver him now, if he will hear him, for he said, ' I am God's son.' " The quotation here is obvious, and Matthew has rewritten the narrative of Mark not only in the light of Psalm xxii., but also in that of Wisdom ii. 12 ff. " Let us lay wait

[1] Suggested among others by W. Brandt, *Evangelische Geschichte.*

for the righteous . . . he calleth himself a child of the Lord (παῖς Κυρίου) . . . he blesseth the end of the righteous, and boasteth that God is his father. Let us see if his words be true, and test them by his end. For if the righteous be a son of God he will help him, and deliver him out of the hand of his adversaries." [1]

Q. In the passages common to Matthew and Luke which are usually ascribed to Q there is one passage which is frequently used to connect Jesus with the figure of the 'Suffering Servant.' This is the answer given by Jesus to the disciples of John in Matthew xi. 5 and Luke vii. 22. John had heard in the prison of events which seemed to him to be the signs of the Messiah—τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Χριστοῦ—and sent to inquire further. The answer of Jesus was, "Go and tell John what things ye see and hear: the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, and the dead are raised, and the poor hear good news." In Matthew this passage is placed so that the list of miracles is a summary of those recorded in the preceding sections.[2] Most of these have been taken from Mark, and therefore the arrangement cannot throw any light on the original meaning of Q. Luke, it should be noted, has arranged the material differently, and to give point to the words of Jesus introduces a summary reference to a special series of miracles expressly performed for the sake of John's disciples.

A parallelism has often been noted between this passage and Isaiah lxi. 1, in which the preaching good news to the poor and the giving of sight to the blind[3] are among the blessings promised to restored Israel. But though this passage comes in Isaiah it has nothing to do with the Suffering Servant. Moreover, the other signs are not mentioned in Isaiah, and it may be said with

[1] Notice also the change in Lk. xxiii. 47 to "Truly this man was righteous" from "Truly this man was a son of God."

[2] Matt. viii. 1-4; ix. 1-7, 9-13, 18-25, 27-31, 32.

[3] It is worth noting that the giving of sight to the blind is only found in the LXX. of Is. lxi., not in the Hebrew. This has some bearing on the origin of the story. It is as improbable that Jesus quoted the LXX. as it is certain that Luke was accustomed to do so.

confidence that the redactor of Matthew did not notice any quotation here : had he done so he would almost certainly have made it plainer in accordance with his marked predilection for finding fulfilment of prophecies in the life of Jesus. Even if this be not so, and there was really an allusion in Q to Isaiah lxi. 1, it is, after all, connected entirely with these miracles of healing and not with the Passion, for there is nothing about suffering in Isaiah lxi.

In Matthew viii. 17 there is a direct quotation of Isaiah liii. 4, but the context shows that the editor did not regard this chapter as prophetic of the suffering of Jesus. It is clearly a merely verbal reminiscence of Isaiah, taken, as was commonly done by Jewish scribes, entirely apart from its context, so that " Himself took our infirmities and bare our diseases " became a prophecy of the healing miracles of Jesus, not of his Passion. Matthew.

Similarly in Matthew xii. 17, which belongs to the editor of the gospel, not to Mark or Q, there is an undoubted identification of Jesus with the Servant, by a direct quotation from Isaiah xlii. But (oddly enough) this passage does not refer to suffering, but to the injunction of Jesus not to make his miracles known to the multitude. There is also the remarkable passage in Matthew xxvii. 42, quoted above, in which the Marcan account of the conduct of the Jews watching the Crucifixion is so rewritten as to contain clear references to Psalm xxii. and to Wisdom ii. The difference between the Marcan text and this Matthaean redaction admirably illustrates the difference between the original tradition and one affected by the Christian interpretation of Psalm xxii.

The evidence is too slight and negative to allow of certainty in drawing conclusions, but, so far as it goes, it suggests that the earliest reference to the " suffering " passages in the Old Testament was to Psalm xxii., in the cry of Jesus on the Cross. This led Matthew, but not Mark or Q, to see a fulfilment of Psalm xxii. elsewhere, and to combine other details of the Passion with it and with the description in Wisdom of the sufferings of the

righteous. There is a striking lack of any evidence that Isaiah liii. was as yet (or in the circles represented by Matthew) used as a prophecy of Jesus. The picture of the herald of good tidings in Isaiah lxi. is used, but not in connexion with the Passion. There is no more trace of a Christian interpretation of the 'Servant' in Isaiah regarded as a sufferer, than there is in Mark or Q.

(*d*) Luke and Acts.

The situation is markedly different in Luke and Acts. At the opening of the Gospel narrative, whereas Mark summarises the preaching of Jesus as "The kingdom of God is at hand. Repent!" Luke[1] represents Jesus as beginning his public ministry by reading Isaiah lxi. 1 ff. in the synagogue at Nazareth, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to announce good tidings to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised." "To preach the acceptable year of the Lord," and saying, "To-day hath this scripture been fulfilled in your ears." This identifies Jesus with the Servant, but it does not refer to the Passion, and is not taken from a "suffering" chapter in Isaiah. In this respect it does not go beyond Matthew. In Luke xxii. 37, however, the quotation from Isaiah liii. 12, "and he was reckoned with the transgressors," explicitly regards the suffering of the Servant as a prophecy fulfilled by the Passion of Jesus. This marks the difference between Luke and the other Gospels. The evidence of Acts is similar: even in x. 36, τὸν λόγον ὃν ἀπέστειλεν (Psalm cvii. 20) is defined as εὐαγγελιζόμενος εἰρήνην (probably a reminiscence of Isaiah lii. 7) and the λόγον is finally explained as the ῥῆμα or story of Jesus, "how God anointed (ἔχρισεν) him with the Holy Spirit." The reference to Isaiah lxi. 1 is clear, especially in the light of Luke iv. 18, which describes the baptism. The identification of the Servant with Jesus is obvious; even here, however, if it stood alone it would be possible to urge that it is not the suffering of the Servant

[1] Luke iv. 18 ff.

which is the point of the fulfilment. But in Acts viii. 32 the direct quotation of Isaiah liii. 7 ("He was led as a sheep to the slaughter," etc.) is expressly taken as prophetic of Jesus.

In Acts iii. 13 the phraseology "the God of our Fathers glorified his servant Jesus" seems reminiscent of Isaiah lii. 13. The text of this passage is *ἰδοὺ συνήσει ὁ παῖς μου, καὶ ὑψωθήσεται καὶ δοξασθήσεται σφόδρα*, and thus contains the two prominent words of Acts iii. 13—*παῖδα* and *ἐδόξασε*. But *ἐδόξασε* was a natural word to use in the context, and is insufficient to show whether in calling Jesus the *παῖς* of God the writer was thinking of the prophecy of Isaiah, or of other passages in the Old Testament where the phrase is applied to the great men of Israel, or was merely using a well-known designation of those who served God faithfully. The only reason for the usual view is that all the references in Acts iii. and iv. to Jesus as the *παῖς* of God are interpreted in the light of the clear quotation of Isaiah liii. 7 f. in Acts viii. 32. This is sufficient evidence to establish the opinion of the editor of Acts, but it proves nothing for the original meaning of the source of Acts iii. and iv., unless it be regarded as certain that these chapters come from the same source as Acts viii. There is, however, reasonable doubt on this point, and it is slightly more probable that Acts iii. and iv. represent a Jerusalem tradition, while Acts viii. is connected with Caesarea and the Hellenistic circle to which Philip belonged. If this view be adopted it is tempting to suggest that the interpretation of Isaiah liii. as a prophecy of Jesus was first introduced by Hellenistic Christians, for there is no positive evidence of its existence in sources which certainly represent the thought of the first disciples in Jerusalem, but it was clearly part of the teaching of Philip.

The Pauline epistles and Acts present an interesting contrast on this subject. In Acts the Passion of Jesus is identified with the suffering of the Servant, but nowhere is described as giving salvation to men. In the speeches of Peter and Stephen the death of Jesus is regarded as the wicked act of the Jews, parallel

The Pauline Epistles and Acts.

to their fathers' persecution of the prophets.[1] If men desire salvation let them repent, and be baptized.[2] On the other hand, in the epistles the death of Christ brings salvation, but nowhere is Jesus identified with the Suffering Servant. The contrast is very strange, and cannot be explained away by saying that it is based on silence. The *argumentum e silentio* has its weakness, but it is not so indefensible as the opposite defect of reading into one document what is only to be found in another.

The Son of God.

In the Old Testament, Elohim, the word translated God, is a plural and may signify either the God of Israel, heathen gods, angels, or even great men. The plural may possibly indicate an earlier polytheistic creed, and be a survival of the old religion.[3] Thus, as 'sons' or 'son of man' is the equivalent of human beings, so the 'Sons of Elohim'[4] contrasted in Genesis vi. 4 with the 'daughters of men' may be gods; though in later apocalyptic Judaism the explanation is that they were fallen angels.[5]

Sonship in relation to Jehovah.

But the orthodox faith of the prophets was rigid monotheism. Israel worshipped Jehovah, a god who remained severely alone, enthroned in majesty. He had chosen the nation for himself and demanded their exclusive worship. "Thou shalt have no other gods before my face." This God could have had no offspring to dispute the honour due unto his name; nevertheless the words father and son are used to express Jehovah's attitude to Israel. Thus in Exodus Jehovah says, "Israel is my first-born son,'[6] and in Hosea, 'I called my son out of Egypt.'[7] The same metaphor is used in 2 Samuel vii. when David desired to

[1] Acts ii. 22 f.; iii. 17; and vii. 51 f.

[2] Acts ii. 38, but not iii. 19.

[3] In Genesis Abraham is made to use a plural with *Elohim*, "the gods caused me to wander," and the massorites add a cautionary note that *Elohim*=God.

[4] 'Sons of God' occurs in Gen. vi. 2, Job. i. 6, where they and Satan among them present themselves before Jehovah, Job xxxviii. 7, 'the sons of God shout for joy,' the clause being parallel to the rejoicing of the 'morning stars.'

[5] Enoch vi.

[6] Exodus iv. 22.

[7] Hosea xi. 1.

build the Temple but is forbidden to do so, because it is reserved for his son. Nathan, speaking in Jehovah's name, says of Solomon, 'I will be to him a father and he shall be to me a son.' Here a father means one who will exercise parental authority and will chastise Solomon if he deserves it. "If he commit iniquity I will chasten him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the children of men: but my mercy (חסד the affection of a father for a son) shall not depart away from him as I took it from Saul."

II. Sam. vii. and Ps. lxxxix.

Whatever may be the date of the prophecy of Nathan, its interpretation in Psalm lxxxix. is undoubtedly later. In the interval between the Prophecy and the Psalm the idea of David had been transformed. The fall of the royal house of Judah had caused it to be regarded as the representative of the whole nation, whose glories had departed with its kingdom. The captive king Jehoiachin who had been taken to Babylon in early youth was regarded with romantic tenderness, and his deliverance from prison by Evil-Merodach was hailed as the restoration of hope for the whole nation.

A new estimate of David was the result of the calamities of his house, and he was pictured as the special favourite of Jehovah, 'a man after his own heart.' In Chronicles nothing is permitted to appear to his discredit, and in the 89th Psalm the words spoken of Solomon are applied to him, and he acknowledges God as his father. David thus becomes the typical righteous man and so a son of God.[1]

In this way the idea of Sonship underwent a twofold development. The connexion of the phrase with David and his house made it appropriate as the title of the anointed king in the 2nd Psalm. "The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against Jehovah, and against his anointed. . . . I will declare the decree: the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for an inheritance," etc. This line of thought,

[1] Ps. lxxxix. 26, 'He shall cry unto me, Thou art my father.'

through its presentation in the Psalms, continued to be central in the Jewish hope of a Davidic Messiah, who would overthrow the heathen ; the classical example of its use in the literature almost contemporary with Christianity is the 17th Psalm of Solomon, and it probably explains the fondness of 4 Ezra for making God refer to the Messiah as his Son.[1]

The righteous as a sufferer.

But in other circles a more ethical and less military development took place. Attention was centred not on David or his family, but on the quality of righteousness—and frequently suffering righteousness—which the David of the Psalms represents. The finest presentation of this development is in the Wisdom of Solomon, where, not the king, but the righteous man in adversity is pictured as the 'Son of God.'[2] The same idea can also be found in Jubilees i. 19-25. "And they (repentant Israel) shall be called children of the living God ; and all angels and spirits shall know that they are my children, and that I am their father.[3] Moreover in Hellenistic circles the fact that *υἱός*

[1] "Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their king, the son of David, at the time when thou seest, O God, that he may reign over *Israel thy servant.* And gird him with strength that he may shatter unrighteous rulers. . . .

". . . He shall thrust out sinners from the inheritance. He shall destroy the pride of the sinner *as a potter's vessel,* with a *rod of iron he shall break in pieces* all their substance" (Ps. Sol. xvii. 22-24).

In 4 Ezra the influence of Ps. ii. 7 is seen in the Messianic reign of 400 years in chapter vii. 'My Son the Messiah' (Latin, *filius meus Jesus,* an obviously Christian correction) shall be revealed 'at the beginning' (verse 28), and at the end 'My Son the Messiah' will die (verse 30). At a late date the Jews tried to combat the Christian explanation of Ps. ii. 7. "From this verse we find a retort against the Minim (Christians), who say that the Holy One, blessed be He, has a Son ; and thou canst remonstrate that the words are not 'a son art thou to me,' but thou art my son, like a servant to whom his Lord vouchsafes encouragement, saying to him, 'I love thee as my son.'"

[2] Cf. also Ecclus. iv. 10, *γίνου ὀρφανοῖς ὡς πατήρ, καὶ ἀντὶ ἀνδρὸς τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔσῃ ὡς υἱὸς ὑψίστου, καὶ ἀγαπήσει σε μᾶλλον ἢ μήτηρ σου,* or according to the Hebrew, "Then God will call thee 'Son' and will be gracious to thee, and deliver thee from the Pit." It is also noticeable that even the Psalms of Solomon have this use of Son of God. Cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 30, *γνώσεται γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὅτι πάντες υἱοὶ θεοῦ αὐτῶν εἰσί* (which seems to reflect Deut. xiv. 1) ; Ps. Sol. xviii. 4, *καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη σου ἐπὶ σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ, υἱοὺς Ἰσραήλ, ἡ παιδεία σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὡς υἱὸν πρωτότοκον μονογενῆ,* and Ps. Sol. xiii. 8, *ὅτι νουθετήσει δίκαιον ὡς υἱὸν ἀγαπήσεως καὶ ἡ παιδεία αὐτοῦ ὡς πρωτοτόκου.*

[3] See B. W. Bacon, *Jesus the Son of God,* pp. 24 ff.

and παῖς are used synonymously in Wisdom, though elsewhere παῖς translates עבד and means 'servant,' paved the way for the Christian use of the Old Testament passages referring to the servant of the Lord, especially in Isaiah, and Christians who used the Septuagint were enabled to see indications of the Divine sonship of Jesus in all passages containing the word παῖς.

Meaning of Son of God.

Thus 'Son of God' could be taken by a Jew of the first century with a wide range of meaning depending entirely on his view of the context. (1) In contrast with a 'son of man' it might be used for a god, but as Jehovah was the only God, the sons of God in the Old Testament were necessarily regarded as Angels. (2) Since Jehovah was a Father to Israel the true representative of Israel was in a special sense his son. (3) This representative was sometimes identified with the King, and hence especially with the expected Messiah. (4) Sometimes he was identified with the 'righteous,' *i.e.* the true Israel, and found consolation for their sufferings in the consciousness of their relation to God.

Son in Q.

In the earliest strata of the gospels the title "Son of God" is rare. In Q the exact phrase is only found in the account of the Temptation, but there is one isolated passage containing the word Father applied to God, and Son apparently applied to Jesus. It is found with small variation in Matthew and Luke.

"At that time Jesus answered and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father: for so it seemed good in thy sight. All things are delivered unto me of my Father: and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him."[1]

As this stands it clearly employs language which resembles the Johannine and later Christian usage, and is quite different

[1] A. von Harnack has made a heroic attempt to rewrite the text, but the evidence is small and the result unsatisfactory. See his *Beiträge*, ii. p. 189 ff.

from anything else in Mark or Q. It is very improbable that it is an accurate representation of the mind of Jesus, or of the earliest Christian thought, for nowhere else in the earliest strata does Jesus appear as revealing God to those who are ignorant of him, nor was that the message of the disciples to the Jews. It does, however, exactly reflect the attitude of the earliest Greek Christianity, such as is found in Paul's speech at Athens. It is, therefore, not impossible that these rhythmical verses, which sound so liturgical, represent an early Greek Christian utterance which had found its way into the Greek Q used by Matthew and Luke, or possibly was inserted independently by both. The exact similarity of language in the two gospels shows that the source used here was Greek and not Aramaic.

The 'Son' in Mark xiii.

The only other passage in Mark or Q which at all resembles this is Mark xiii. 32: "But concerning that hour knoweth none, neither the angels in heaven nor the Son, save the Father." The textual variations in this passage are late, and there is no doubt that this is the oldest form. But the Greek is curious, for the parenthesis with its double *οὐδέ* is harsh, and the *εἰ μή* seems to require a position closer to *οὐδείς*. All attempts to reconstruct the passage are quite hopeless. All that can be said is that as it stands it implies the theory of the unique sonship of Jesus in a manner without parallel in Mark. Possibly, however, "the Son" here represents an original "Son of Man" in the sense in which the phrase is used in Enoch. Possibly, too, *εἰ μὴ ὁ θεός* may have been originally a gloss by some scribe who was unwilling to leave anything to the imagination.

Neither of these passages can be taken as representing the earliest tradition. They serve rather as a warning to remember that the Gospels, as we have them, are Greek. It would be a literary miracle if they contained no traces of Greek Christian thought. To criticise them in the light of this fact is "subjective," but to regard a refusal to do so as "objective" is the verbal decoration of a process which is in reality merely mechanical. Subjective methods in such cases may give wrong results;

mechanical ones will certainly do so. The compilers of the Gospels were assuredly subjective, and criticism, which is, after all, merely the attempt to reverse the process of compilation, must follow the same method.

Son occurs six times in Mark.

Putting aside these passages as either not primitive or as hopelessly obscure, the title Son of God is found in Mark six times, twice in the mouth of demoniacs,[1] twice as spoken by the Voice from Heaven,[2] once in the question of the high priest in the Sanhedrin,[3] and once in the exclamation of the centurion at the cross.[4] Of these, the question of the high priest and the exclamation of the centurion present little difficulty. The high priest was seeking an accusation which would be serious in Roman ears: by "the Messiah, the son of God,"[5] or possibly "the anointed son of God," he must have meant the Davidic Prince who would destroy the power of the Gentiles and restore the kingdom to Israel. The centurion either meant nothing more than "righteous," as Luke probably thought, or he was using the phrase with some heathen connotation which is quite unimportant for the present purpose.

Meaning of 'Son' at the Baptism and Transfiguration.

Thus, like "Son of Man," "Son of God" is not used by the disciples in speaking of Jesus, but, unlike it, is not represented as used by Jesus himself: it is found only in supernatural utterances by God and by demons. It is scarcely possible to discover, or worth asking, what the demoniacs meant, and Mark must have interpreted them in the same way as the Voice from Heaven. The matter, therefore, resolves itself into the exposition of the Voices from Heaven at the Baptism and at the Transfiguration, "Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased."

The words are almost the same, and it is not strange that some investigators have thought that the narratives are a

[1] Mark iii. 11; v. 7=Matt. viii. 29=Luke viii. 28.
[2] Mark i. 11=Matt. iii. 17=Luke iii. 22; Mark ix. 7=Matt. xvii. 5=Luke ix. 35.
[3] Mark xiv. 61=Matt. xxvi. 63=Luke xxii. 66 f.
[4] Mark xv. 39=Matt. xxvii. 54=Luke xxiii. 47.
[5] "The Blessed" is, of course, merely metonomy for God.

"doublet" in tradition of the same incident. But the editor of the Gospel certainly distinguished them, and the slight difference in the words of the Voice on the two occasions is significant. At the Baptism the Voice says, "Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased (*εὐδόκησα*)." At the Transfiguration it says, "This is my beloved Son, hear him." The obvious difference is that the first voice is a revelation to Jesus, the second to the disciples; but a further point is concealed by the English. *Εὐδόκησα* is the equivalent of some phrase containing the Hebrew בחר, which is constantly rendered in the Targums [1] by אתרע, and in biblical Greek *εὐδοκία* and its derivatives mean not so much the moral approbation of God on what is past, as his self-determined choice and favour for the future. The Baptism is the Marcan account of the revelation to Jesus of God's choice.

There are, then, two separate questions in connexion with the meaning of this Voice from Heaven. How did Mark interpret it? How did Jesus himself think of it?

The meaning in Mark is not wholly clear, but in one respect at least it differs from Matthew and Luke. No one reading Mark by itself, without knowledge of the other gospels, would doubt that he means that Jesus was chosen as Son of God at the Baptism,[2] and that the Voice at the Transfiguration was the announcement to the disciples. To him the Divine Sonship of Jesus begins at the Baptism just as to Luke it begins at the Birth. But this does not decide definitely whether Mark saw in this voice a quotation from Psalm ii., and whether he regarded 'Son' as meaning the Davidic Messiah. The question here may be subordinate to the general problem of the Davidic Messiahship, but the words of the Voice are not a clear quotation from the

[1] See Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 227 (Eng. tr., p. 277).

[2] It is true that the Church anathematized those who said that the Divine Sonship of Jesus was *κατ' εὐδοκίαν*. If the Fourth Gospel be followed, the church was right, but *κατ' εὐδοκίαν* exactly describes what Mark says. The Marcan point of view struggled on for some generations; and its story has not yet been properly written. In spite of certain textual vagaries there is immense learning and much truth in H. Usener's *Weihnachtfest*.

Psalm.[1] The Psalm omits 'beloved,' and does not say 'in whom I am well pleased,' but this 'day have I begotten thee.' It is only 'the Son' which supports the quotation. This fact was early noticed by the scribes of Luke, and the text used by Clement of Alexandria,[2] and found also in D and some Old Latin authorities, was corrected to agree with the Psalm. Similar corrections have as a rule found their way into the later text of the Antiochene revisers, but this was rejected by them, doubtless because it seemed Adoptionist.[3]

The probability is that Mark saw no reference to the Old Testament, and merely recorded the Voice from Heaven as an historic fact. It is possible that there was a tendency to interpret the Voice in connexion with Isaiah xlii. 1 ff., for the curious text of this verse in Matthew xii. 18 agrees neither with the LXX. nor with the Hebrew, but has affinities with the Targum, and in its use of εὐδόκησα seems to re-echo the Voice from Heaven. The fact that this quotation is in Matthew connected with the Messianic secret does not exclude the possibility that it was used differently elsewhere, and that the Voice was interpreted as the recognition by God of his Servant. But, possible though this may seem, it is incapable of demonstration, and it is more likely that Mark connected the Voice from Heaven with no special passage in the Old Testament. In support of this view is the reference in Acts xiii. 33 to the 2nd Psalm, and its accurate quotation as a prophecy of the Resurrection: "God hath fulfilled the same . . . by raising up Jesus: as it is written in the second psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." Early Christians were capable of seeing several fulfilments of one prophecy without troubling much about the logic of this proceeding, but it is improbable that the source used in Acts would have been written in these words if the connexion

[1] It is noticeable that Westcott and Hort do not print it as one.

[2] Justin Martyr has the same reading, but whether he was using Luke is doubtful.

[3] This explanation of the textual difficulty seems more probable than Harnack's view that the Bezan text of Luke is that of Q.

of the Psalm with the Baptism had been universally recognised. Of course Acts xiii. is not identical with Mark, but the source underlying it seems to be very early and to have more affinity with Mark than with the later editor of Luke or Acts.

It is, therefore, possible that Mark did not see any quotation in the Voice from Heaven; did Jesus do so? The question cannot be answered definitely, for we can never with certainty reach behind the gospels to the mind of Jesus himself, nor can we be sure that they always interpreted him correctly. The problem is a complicated one, and can best be stated in the form of questions. Did Jesus believe that he was the Davidic Messiah? If he did not, what can have been the interpretation which he put on the Voice from Heaven?

The difficulty of the first question has been discussed on pages 364 f. The second brings back the question of quotation. Clearly it is very doubtful that the Voice from Heaven was inaccurately quoting the 2nd Psalm: but if it was not doing so it might have been interpreted by Jesus on the same lines as the references to the Son of God in Wisdom, and *εὐδόκησα*, or the corresponding Aramaic, on the same lines as in Matthew's version of Isaiah xlii. In that case the Divine Sonship of Jesus would not be that of the Messiah, but of the 'righteous man,' whom God chose as his Son. The problem cannot be solved; nevertheless it exists.

Son of God in Matthew and Luke.

The interpretation of 'Son of God' by the redactors of Matthew and Luke is clearer. Without doubt they took it to express a unique relation between God and Jesus, who was supernaturally conceived, born as the Davidic Messiah, and recognised by the Voice from Heaven at the Baptism. This is especially clear in the case of Luke, for he is careful to explain at the beginning of his Gospel why Jesus is called Son of God. "'Fear not, Mary,'" says the angel at the Annunciation, "'for thou didst find favour with God, and lo! thou shalt conceive, and bear a son, and call his name Jesus. He shall be great, and shall be called son of the Most High, and the Lord God shall

give him the throne of David his Father, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob forever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end.' And Mary said to the angel, 'How shall this be, since I know no husband?' And the angel answered and said to her, 'A holy spirit shall come upon thee, and power of the Highest shall overshadow thee, wherefore also the holy offspring shall be called Son of God.'" Nevertheless, elsewhere Luke does not specially emphasise the Divine Sonship of Jesus.

It is possible, and even probable, that Matthew meant the same as Luke, but it may be that he regarded the supernatural conception of Jesus as the preparation of some one fitted to become the Son of God *κατ' εὐδοκίαν* at the Baptism. This would not be inconsistent with the emphasis laid by Matthew on the Davidic Messiahship of Jesus, and with his interpretation of Son of God in this sense. His interest in this is shown very plainly in the confession of Peter in chapter xvi. 16 by adding to the Marcan "Thou art the Messiah," the explanatory "the Son of the living God." In general, however, Matthew prefers to draw attention to the special relation between Jesus and God by making Jesus speak of God as his Father, rather than by referring to him as God's Son.

The Fatherhood of God and Sonship of Jesus.

This raises a point which has been so much discussed in modern books that the facts have become obscure. Two mutually exclusive positions have been advanced, often simultaneously. One is that the Synoptics, and especially their source Q, show that the main message of Jesus was the general Fatherhood of God; the other is that they were intended to point out the peculiar Sonship of Jesus. The first is entirely erroneous, the second partially so.

There are few points on which there has been so much confusion in modern times as on this subject of the Fatherhood of God. Yet the facts are clear and indisputable. The Fatherhood of God is a characteristically Jewish doctrine, found in equal abundance in the Old Testament and in Rabbinic literature. It is only by a natural and intelligible inconsistency Jewish

writers spoke of any particular individual or any special class as God's son or children.

This Fatherhood of God is not represented in Mark or in Q as characteristic of the teaching of Jesus or of the Apostles, though no doubt it was part of their concept of God. Until controversy with polytheism began, there is no sign that Christianity ever claimed to be a new message as to the nature of God. The God of Jesus and of his disciples is identical with the God of the Jews: his message was not the announcement that God is a Father or King—that was assumed as part of the common belief of Israel—it was rather instruction as to the kind of conduct required from the children and subjects of God, and the future in store for the obedient and disobedient.

Sonship of Jesus not emphasised.

Neither is it true that the special "Sonship" of Jesus is emphasised in the earliest strata of the Gospels. In Mark and in Q there is very little about it; it played no part in the public teaching of Jesus, and it does not seem to have been a favourite figure for expressing the disciples' belief that Jesus was the Messiah. In the Synoptic Gospels it is only Matthew who in any way emphasised this idea, which he does by frequently introducing the phrase 'My Father' into the sayings of Jesus.[1] This characteristic is found throughout the gospel and may therefore be certainly regarded as due to the Greek editor who made the final recension rather than to his Jewish sources. By it the editor clearly implied a special relationship of Jesus to God; but his exact meaning is more doubtful. He may have

[1] The grouping of the passages which contain Father is significant, and can be made plain at once by tabular representation:

	Mark.	Q.	Matthew.	Luke.	John.
Father . . .	3	11	45	17	118

This distribution is, when analysed, seen to be made up thus:

	Mark.	Q.	Matthew.	Luke.	John.
My Father . . .	..	2	18 (16)	4 (2)	24
The Father . . .	1	2	2 (1)	6 (3)	77
Your (thy) Father .	..	4	18 (14)	3 (2)	1
Father (vocative) . .	1	3	6 (3)	3 (0)	5

These figures speak for themselves, and a consideration of the possibility that some even of those in Mark and Q are not the genuine words of Jesus strengthens the supposition which they make.

meant by this phraseology to imply Jesus' consciousness that he was the Davidic Messiah, or that he was the son κατ' εὐδοκίαν, or that he had been miraculously born as God's son, or, possibly, though not probably that he stood in a special, metaphysical relation to God.

In the Pauline epistles and Fourth gospel a further stage is reached in the meaning and use of the phrase. It is more frequent, more central, and increasingly metaphysical, but to treat this development is outside the scope of this discussion. The main point is that the phraseology of 'Father' and 'Son' is used to describe a metaphysical, not a physical relationship, such as Luke had in mind, or a moral one, depending on God's choice, such as Mark implies. This is probably true of all the epistles, but is much more emphasised in the later than in the earlier ones. There are also less frequent, but unmistakable signs of the belief that Christians obtain divine sonship by a supernatural and metaphysical change. This is most clearly expressed by Paul in the saying that "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God," which links up this doctrine to the Spirit and to the glorified Christ who has become a "quickening spirit." It is also described in Paul as a resurrection, and in John as a new birth, and in each case is clearly connected with Baptism.

Jesus as a prophet.

There remains one other application to Jesus of the language of the Old Testament—that which describes him as a prophet. That he was regarded by himself and by his disciples as inspired with the spirit of God is certain, and justifies his description as a prophet; but two interesting variations of this belief can be traced in the earliest literature.

According to Mark viii. 28, there was in some Galilean circles a tendency to regard Jesus as the reincarnation of one of the prophets, and popular opinion had wavered between Elijah and John the Baptist. Mark clearly rejected this opinion, which plays no part in subsequent Christian thought. It is, however,

quite in accord with the belief in the reincarnation of the righteous, in which, according to Josephus, the Pharisees believed.[1]

The 'prophet' in Deut. xviii.

The exact reverse is true of another line of thought found in Acts: it has no Jewish antecedents, though found among the Samaritans, but it became part of the fabric of later Christian thought. This is the identification of Jesus with the "Prophet like unto Moses" referred to in Deut. xviii. 14, and the presence of this interpretation in the general Christian tradition of exegesis after the third century [2] has created the impression that it was a generally recognised Jewish doctrine that a great prophet "like unto Moses" would arise in the last days. It has been held that in Jewish thought this figure was recognised as the "Prophetic Messiah." This point of view is common in modern commentaries, and in books on the Jewish doctrines of the Messiah, but in point of fact its origin is not to be sought in the Talmud or in Apocalypses, but in A. F. Gfrörer's *Das Jahrhundert des Heils* published in 1838. In this learned and very instructive book a distinction is drawn between the ordinary prophetic figure (*gemein prophetisches Vorbild*) of the Messiah, the Danielic figure, the Mosaic, and the Mystic-Mosaic figure.

Gfrörer traced back the Mosaic Messiah to two sources. First, the general tendency, common to Jewish and Christian writers, to think that the "end shall be as the beginning," so that the story of the forefathers of Israel contains a description of all the features of the Messianic period. This is true, and to a certain extent it is possible that Moses may have been regarded as a type of the Messiah. But this is merely a part of the general system of Jewish exegesis, in which any passage may be quoted for any purpose, entirely apart from its context or original meaning. There is no proof that Jews in the first century looked on the Messiah as a return of Moses, or as "a second Moses" in any true sense of the phrase. In the second place, Gfrörer urged

[1] See p. 113.

[2] It is implied in John and found in Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* 1. 7) and in Tertullian (*contra Marcionem* 22). See also p. 406.

that the passage, Deuteronomy xviii. 15, 19, must have been interpreted of the Messiah, in order to account for the Christian tradition.

These theories were accepted as facts, and have been treated as indisputable by writers of whom it may probably be said without injustice that few have actually read Gfrörer; had they done so their knowledge would have been greater and their certainty less, since Gfrörer deduced the Mosaic Messiah from Acts, whereas they assumed such a figure in order to explain it. There is, in fact, no evidence at all in favour of the view that Jewish writers of the first century or even much later ever interpreted Deuteronomy xviii. 13 ff. of the Messiah, or of the coming of a specially great prophet like Moses. It meant to them the divine institution of prophets as an order in Israel, and the passage read in its context shows that they were right.

"Thou shalt be perfect with the Lord thy God. For these nations, which thou shalt possess, hearken unto them that practise augury, and unto diviners; but as for thee, the Lord thy God hath not suffered thee so to do. The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken. . . . And it shall come to pass that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him. But the prophet which shall speak a word presumptuously in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak, or that shall speak in the name of other gods, that prophet shall die."

The meaning is clear: other nations use sorcery, but Israel will have prophets like Moses to guide them. The last verse shows conclusively that a succession of prophets, not merely one great prophet, is intended.

Moses a 'prophet.'

The only possible source of confusion is provided by another passage (Deut. xxxiv. 10) which, after relating the death of Moses, says: "And there hath not arisen a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses whom the Lord knew face to face." But the meaning here is that no prophet equal to Moses has arisen: it

might have been interpreted in combination with the previous passage as hinting at a great prophet, and he again might have been identified with the Messiah, but there is no evidence that Jewish writers ever made these combinations.

The only early evidence for the so-called Mosaic Messiah, apart from Christian sources is Samaritan. They had a peculiar doctrine of a "Restorer" (Taheb), based on exactly this combination of Deuteronomy xviii. 13 ff. with Deuteronomy xxxiv. 10, previously discussed, and strengthened by their reading "no prophet shall arise," instead of "has arisen," in the latter passage. For not having canonical prophets, but desiring to equal the Jewish expectation of the Messiah, the Samaritans were driven to this view. It is true that their literature which witnesses to this belief, is not earlier than the fourth century, and much depends on the accuracy of the information given by Samaritans to Europeans, beginning with Scaliger in the sixteenth century; but the probability is that, on this point at least, Samaritan sources really represent a primitive belief.[1]

Tradition that Jesus was the prophet 'like unto Moses.'

After the third century the tradition that the reference to the prophet persisted among Christian exegetes "like unto Moses" in Deuteronomy was prophetic of Jesus. This tradition can be traced back as far as Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian, and was perpetuated by Origen and Eusebius, but whether it existed in the middle of the second century is doubtful. Justin Martyr and Irenaeus do not quote Deuteronomy xviii. 13, and the Apologists, even in the Dialogue of Justin with Trypho and the Apostolic Fathers seem ignorant of its application. The only evidence in favour of its existence in the second century or earlier is the reference in the Fourth Gospel to 'the prophet'[2] where the definite article cannot easily be interpreted except in connection with some such belief in the coming of a prophet who would be distinguished from all his predecessors. That this view was connected with the interpretation of Deuteronomy xviii. 13 ff. cannot be proved, but it seems extremely probable.

[1] See J. H. Montgomery, *The Samaritans.* [2] John i. 21 ff.

The result is obvious. The writer of Acts puts into Peter's mouth, as though it were likely to appeal to Jews, an argument which suggests a Samaritan belief. It would surely have been out of place in Jerusalem ; nor, except for the possible reference in John, does it appear in Christian literature until the third century. This difficulty is increased if we accept the theory that the early chapters of Acts are based on an Aramaic source, possibly emanating from Jerusalem. It seems unlikely that such an argument would have been used in it, and it is legitimate to inquire whether there are any indications that the original source used by the editor of Acts embodied an argument so suspiciously Samaritan.

Two lines of thought in Acts iii.

A convincing case cannot be presented, but it is worthy of note that two lines of thought alternate in the speech after iii. 17, for vv. 18, 22 f., 26 refer to the ministry of Jesus, and 19-21, 24 ff. refer to the Parousia of the Messiah. The latter is complete without the other, as may be seen by reading the speech in that form. " Repent, therefore, and turn again, that your sins may be blotted out, that there may come seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord, and that he may send you Jesus, the Messiah who has been appointed for you, whom the heavens must receive until the time of the restoration of all things whereof God spake by the mouth of his holy prophets, which have been since the beginning of the world. Yea, and all prophets from Samuel, and them that followed after, as many as have spoken, also told of these days. Ye are the sons of the prophets and of the covenant which God made with your fathers, saying unto Abraham, ' In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.' "

The " sending " of the Messiah Jesus is here clearly regarded as future, and the promises made by God through the Prophets and to be inherited by the Jews if they repent are regarded as future and eschatological. But the passage vv. 18, 22 ff. is different. It refers to the promise of sending " a prophet," and leads up to the conclusion, " God having raised up his Servant, sent him to bless you in turning away every one of you

from your iniquities." Here the sending of the Servant, and the fulfilment of the promise of the prophets is already past, and is not eschatological.

No doubt this type of criticism is dangerous, and admittedly it cannot be regarded as giving certain results. But Luke is surely using a source, and his treatment of Mark proves him to be capable of interpolating and changing the meaning of his sources. It must be remembered that the suggestion is not that the text of Acts was interpolated, or that chapter iii. was ever essentially different from its present form. The writer was here trying to show that the prophets had foretold the life, death, and glory of Jesus. But the question is whether he did not elaborate this argument on the basis of his source, and it is argued that though he was too good a writer to leave many plainly visible seams, it is possible to detect some elements which are not likely to have been used in Jerusalem, or to have been embodied in an early Aramaic source, but may have been contributed later on by some side branch of tradition affected by Samaritan thought.

The Lord.

The titles applied to Jesus which have hitherto been considered have been Jewish terms, which either, like Son of Man, lost all meaning when translated into Greek, or, like Son of God, acquired a new significance. The history of "Lord" [1] is essentially Greek, but it resembles "Son of God," in that behind it there is an Aramaic word, and that it soon was interpreted in accordance with its Greek connotation rather than with the meaning which it had had in Aramaic.

Maran.

There is nothing in the Gospels which proves that "Lord"

[1] The literature of this title is all quite recent. The first really full investigation of its history is W. Bousset's epoch-making *Kyrios Christos*, Göttingen, 1913. Important contributions on parts of its history are Heitmüller, "Zum Problem Paulus und Jesus," *Z.N.W.* xiii. (1912), pp. 320-337 (esp. p. 333); Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, 2nd ed. pp. 295 ff.; J. Weiss, "Christus" in *Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher*, i. 18, pp. 24 ff.; Böhlig, "Zum Begriff κύριος bei Paulus," *Z.N.W.* xiv. (1913), pp. 23 ff., and the same writer's *Geistes Kultur von Tarsos.*

was used of Jesus by his disciples during his ministry. The word is characteristic of the later strata of the Synoptic tradition, and there is no convincing evidence that it translates an Aramaic phrase, and was not introduced by the Greek editors. There is, however, evidence supplied in 1 Cor. xvi. 22 which demonstrates that, whatever be the fact in the Gospel tradition, it was actually used by Aramaic-speaking Christians. When Paul says to the Corinthians "If any man love not the Lord let him be accursed. Maranatha," he is obviously quoting Aramaic, and, whatever the meaning of Maranatha may be, it certainly contains the Aramaic word *Maran*, "Our Lord."

This word seems to have been constantly used in the vocative as an appellation of respect, corresponding closely to κύριε in Greek, or to "My Lord" or "Sir" in English. It could not, however, be used absolutely, but only with a personal suffix or a descriptive genitive. This usage is reflected in the Syriac version of the Gospels which habitually translated κύριος by *Maran* (our Lord), thus distinguishing the word from Lord in the sense of God, for which a special form *Marya* seems to have been invented by the translators of the Peshitta of the Old Testament, and was adopted later by the Christians who made the Syriac version of the New Testament. *Maran* therefore may quite as well translate or be translated by ὁ κύριος as by ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν.[1]

Mar, however, was not customarily used in any form by the later Jewish writers to represent any of the names of God, which they preferred to render by some variant of the root רב. It is, however, occasionally found in Targums. It was generally a title of high respect, and among Babylonian Jews it ultimately became a title of honour for distinguished Rabbis; but this custom cannot be traced back to the first century, and seems never to have obtained in Palestine. As an appellative, and with a pronominal suffix or a genitive, it might have been used as a suitable form of address equivalent to Rabbi, but more deferential. A curious story in Philo also shows that it was recognised by foreigners as *Mar.*

[1] See F. C. Burkitt, *Evangelion de-Mepharreshe*, ii. pp. 97 ff.

the correct Syriac form of address to a ruler. In his *In Flaccum* cap. 5-6, he tells how Agrippa's failure to land *incognito* at Alexandria led to a mob insulting him at the instigation, or with the connivance, of Flaccus. Among other things a miserable lunatic called Karabas was dressed up in imitation of royal vestures and greeted in mocking as *Marin*—*εἶτ' ἐκ περιεστῶτος ἐν κύκλῳ πλήθους ἐξήχει βοή τις ἄτοπος "Μάριν" ἀποκαλούντων, οὕτως δέ φασι τὸν κύριον ὀνομάζεσθαι παρὰ Σύροις, ἤδεισαν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν καὶ γένει Σύρον καὶ Συρίας μεγάλην ἀποτομὴν ἔχοντα ἧς ἐβασίλευσεν.*

This curious story seems to show that *Maran* or *Mari* might take with it somewhat different associations from those of *Rabbi*, and would imply a relation similar to that between a master and his slaves, or between a king and his subjects. The evidence of heathen Syriac goes somewhat further: coins and inscriptions show that *Mar* as well as *Baal* was used as a title of honour for gods.[1] It might have been expected that the word would be used of the Messiah, but there is apparently no evidence that this was so.

Κύριος.

The word *κύριος* in Greek, which is the natural equivalent of *Mar* has a wider range of meaning, and as soon as *Mari* or *Maran* was translated into Greek by *κύριος*, the associations and implications of this word among Hellenistic Jews and Gentiles became more important than those of the original Aramaic word.

For the use of the word among Hellenistic Jews almost our only source of evidence is Philo, who must be treated with some reserve as *sui generis*, and not necessarily observing the usual use of words. He is of course largely influenced by the Septuagint, which translates the tetragrammaton by *κύριος*, thus making the Greek word a divine title and almost a proper name. Philo is, however, anxious to distinguish the meaning of *κύριος* from *θεός*, and holds that *κύριος* refers to the royal aspect of God,

[1] See H. Böhlig, "Zum Begriff Kyrios bei Paulus," *Z.N.W.* xiv. pp. 28 ff., where he quotes Fr. Bäthgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, and Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cilicia*, pp. 165-176.

θεός to his beneficence, χαριστικῆς μὲν οὖν δυνάμεως "θεός," βασιλικῆς δὲ "κύριος" ὄνομα.[1]

In the Gentile world the word has a complicated and important history. In itself it might mean merely "Lord" or in the vocative "Sir," and be as devoid of theological content as these English words; but though it never lost this general meaning particularly when followed by a genitive, it came later to be used absolutely with a religious significance, especially in the cult of the Caesars, and in the Oriental religions.[2] According to Bousset it is especially used as the title of a God who is, as it were, usurping the place of another in a locality to which he was originally foreign. So, for example, κύριος Διόνυσος in the country east of Jordan replaces the local Arab God Dusares. This is especially true of Asia, Egypt, and Syria. A second point of even greater importance is that κύριος seems to be used as the distinctively honourable title of the divine centre of a cult only by its members. Thus to the Egyptians Isis, Osiris, and Serapis are especially κύριοι; to the Syrians, Atargatis; to the Simonians Simon and Helena; to the Valentinians, Sophia;[3] and to the circle represented by the Hermetic literature, Hermes was Lord.

[1] *De Somniis*, i. 26 (Mangey i. p. 645), the whole of which chapter is devoted to this point. Cf., too, *Leg. Allegor.* i. 30, and J. Drummond, *Philo Judaeus*, pp. 83 ff. Philo also distinguishes between κύριος and δεσπότης in *Quis rerum divin. heres?* (Mangey i. p. 476) κύριος μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τὸ κῦρος, ὃ δὴ βέβαιόν ἐστιν, εἴρηται κατ' ἐναντιότητα ἀβεβαίου καὶ ἀκύρου, δεσπότης δὲ παρὰ τὸν δεσμόν, ἀφ' οὗ δέος οἶμαι. ὥστε τὸν δεσπότην κύριον εἶναι, καὶ ἔτι ᾠσανεί, φοβερὸν κύριον οὐ μόνον τὸ κῦρος καὶ τὸ κράτος ἁπάντων ἀνημμένον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δέος καὶ φόβον ἱκανὸν ἐμποιῆσαι.

[2] See Deissmann, *Licht v. Osten*, 2nd ed., pp. 258 ff.; Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, p. 111, and the material collected in Röscher's *Mythologische Lexicon*, s.v. "Kyrios." H. Böhlig in the article "Zum Begriff Kyrios bei Paulus," *Z.N.W.* xiv. p. 32 collects the evidence for the meaning of the word in Dion Chrysostomus. He tries to distinguish between δεσπότης and κύριος, but the point does not seem to amount to more than the fact that δεσπότης rather than κύριος is the antithesis to δοῦλος, while κύριος is more that of a Lord as opposed to subjects or vassals. The most interesting passage, chiefly as an illustration of 2 Cor. iii. 17 f., is in the *De Genio*: τοῦτο δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ νομίζεις εἶναι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, τὸ κρατοῦν ἑκάστου, ὃ δαίμονα καλεῖς ἢ ἔξωθεν ὃν ἄρχον τε καὶ κύριον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; ἔξωθεν ἔγωγε.

[3] Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 3 (i. 1. 1 in Harvey) says διὰ τοῦτο τὸν σωτῆρα λέγουσιν, οὐδὲ γὰρ κύριον ὀνομάζειν αὐτὸν θέλουσιν. See the discussion in Dölger's "Ἰχθύς," *Römische Quartalschrift*, Supplem. xvii. p. 409 f.

There might be a complete recognition of the claims of other beings to rank as divine, but they were *κύριοι* only to those who belonged to their cult, just as a slave would not doubt the social rank of all members of the slave-owning classes, but would regard as his *κύριος* only one particular member of them.

The use of *κύριος* in the Gospels and Acts clearly shows that it is not part of the primitive tradition. Even the vocative *κύριε* is rare in the oldest strata, and the usual title for Jesus is "Rabbi," directly transliterated or represented by the Greek *διδάσκαλε*. The facts can best be shown by a few tables.

Forms in which Jesus is addressed.

In the following first two tables the references are given to passages in Mark where Jesus is called *διδάσκαλος*, *ῥαββεί* or *κύριος*; in the second similar statistics are given from Q.

In Mark

(1) *διδάσκαλε*, or case of *διδάσκαλος*.

Mark iv. 38	= Matt. viii. 25	= Luke viii. 24.
v. 35	= no parallel in Matt.	= Luke viii. 49.
ix. 17	= in Matt. xvii. 15	= Luke ix. 38.
ix. 38	= no parallel in Matt.	= Luke ix. 49.
x. 17	= Matt. xix. 16	= Luke xviii. 18.
x. 20	= om. in Matt.	= om. in Luke.
x. 35	= om. in Matt.	= no parallel in Luke.
xii. 14	= Matt. xxii. 16	= Luke xx. 21.
xii. 19	= Matt. xxii. 24	= Luke xx. 28.
xii. 32	= no parallel in Matt.	= no parallel in Luke.
xiii. 1	= om. in Matt.	= om. in Luke.
xiv. 14	= Matt. xxvi. 18	= Luke xxii. 11.

Cf. also Mark ii. 16—Matt. ix. 11 where Matt. has *ἐσθίει ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν* and possibly also Mark xii. 29 = Matt. xxii. 36 = Luke x. 25 where both Matt. and Luke insert *διδάσκαλε*, but it is not clear whether they are following Mark or another version of the same incident.

(2) *ῥαββεί*.

Mark ix. 5 = *κύριε*. Matt. xvii. 4 = *ἐπιστάτα*. Luke ix. 33 spoken by a disciple.

Mark x. 51 = no parallel in Matt. = κύριε Luke xviii. 41 spoken by a stranger. The text is ῥαββουνεί in B and *K*; κύριε ῥαββεί in D a b i ff; ῥαββεί in k syr pesh (rabbuli syr S). The reading ῥαββουνεί is clearly right, but according to Dalman is merely a variant of ῥαββεί found in the Targums (cf. *Worte Jesu* s.v.) cf. also John xx. 16.

xi. 21 = om. in Matt., no parallel in Luke, spoken by a disciple.

xiv. 45 = Matt. xxvi. 49, no parallel in Luke, spoken by Judas Iscariot.

(3) κύριε.

Mark vii. 28 = Matt. xv. 27 no parallel in Luke.
This is put in the mouth of a Greek, the Syrophoenician woman.
Mark xi. 3 = Matt. xxi. 3 = Luke xix. 31

It appears clearly from these tables that διδάσκαλος (= rabbi) was the ordinary title applied to Jesus, according to the Marcan tradition, both by his disciples and by the public at large. The almost complete absence of κύριος is the more striking, as it was the ordinary polite form of address in Greek, and might naturally have been expected to figure more largely in Greek documents even if the Aramaic *Mari*, which exactly corresponds to it, had not been used.

In Passages Common to Matthew and Luke (Q).

(1) διδάσκαλος.

Matt. viii. 19 om. in Luke ix. 57.
Matt. xii. 38 om. in Luke.
x. 24 = Luke vi. 40.

(2) ῥαββεί.

Not found in any passage common to Matt. and Luke.

(3) κύριος.

Matt. vii. 21 = Luke vi. 46.
vii. 22 paraphrased otherwise in Luke xiii. 26.

Luke vii. 19 = om. in Matt. xi. 3.
Matt. viii. 6 = Luke vii. 2 otherwise paraphrased.
viii. 8 = Luke vii. 6.
viii. 21 = om. in Luke viii. 59, but the text is doubtful.

If the passages common to Matthew and Luke be regarded as representing a common original, Q (whether this was one document or more is here immaterial), it would seem as though κύριος is somewhat better represented in Q than in Mark. But this appearance is probably illusory, as both Matthew and Luke have a clear preference for κύριος. In Matthew κύριος is found in seven passages peculiar to his gospel;[1] in Luke κύριος is found in twenty-five passages[2] peculiar to him, many of them obviously redactorial additions to narratives derived from Mark or Q. In addition to these it must be noted that in four passages in the Marcan tradition Luke inserts κύριε when it is not found in Mark;[3] and in one passage[4] a κύριος is inserted which is absent in the parallel passage (Q ?) in Matthew. Against this may be set Luke ix. 59, where the probably best text omits κύριε against Matthew, but the textual point is not quite clear. In general therefore it is clear that the use of κύριος even in the vocative is characteristic of the redactors of Matthew and Luke, not of their sources, and that it is much more markedly characteristic of Luke than of Matthew.

Διδάσκαλος and ῥαββεί.

This result is corroborated by the facts regarding διδάσκαλος and ῥαββεί in the redactorial parts of Matthew and Luke.

In Matthew διδάσκαλος is only used once (Matt. xvii. 24), in a passage which has no parallel either in Mark or Luke; while in Luke, though διδάσκαλε is used in five passages[5] which have no parallels either in Mark or Matthew,[5] it must be noted that

[1] Matt. ix. 28, xiv. 28, xiv. 30, xv. 22, xv. 25, xvii. 15, xviii. 21.

[2] Luke ii. 11, ii. 26, v. 8*, vii. 13, ix. 54, ix. 61*, x. 1, x. 17*, x. 39, x. 40*, x. 41, xi. 1*, xi. 39, xii. 41*, xii. 42, xiii. 23*, xvii. 5, xvii. 6, xvii. 37*, xviii. 6, xxii. 33*, xxii. 38*, xxii. 49*, xxii. 61, xxiv. 34. In the passages marked with an asterisk the vocative is used.

[3] Luke v. 12*, vii. 6*, xviii. 41*, xxii. 61.

[4] Luke vii. 19.

[5] Luke vii. 40, xi. 45, xii. 13, xix. 39, xx. 39.

in none of these is a disciple speaking, and this draws attention to the fact that out of the ten Marcan passages in which διδάσκαλος might have been expected to recur in Luke, it does so only in six, of which five are passages in which strangers are speaking to Jesus, while in the other Jesus himself is giving instructions to the disciples as to a message to a stranger : in the four passages in which in Mark the disciples use διδάσκαλος in addressing Jesus Luke omits the word in two instances, and in the other two changes it to ἐπιστάτα.

There is in these facts as clear an indication of a dislike for the title διδάσκαλος as the converse facts show a predilection for κύριος. Equally striking is the fact that ῥαββεί, which is used three (four) [1] times in Mark, is not found at all in Luke, but in the two passages in which the Marcan narrative is represented is replaced once by ἐπιστάτα and once by κύριε.

Jesus first called 'Teacher' not 'Lord.'

That διδάσκαλος not κύριος is the primitive appellation of Jesus is thus certain. The remaining point, which cannot be cleared up, is why Luke, who used κύριος so freely in redactorial passages, or in those from his special tradition, did not replace διδάσκαλε in the mouth of the disciples by κύριε but by ἐπιστάτα. This word, always in the vocative, is used by Luke six times. Two replace διδάσκαλε in Marcan passages, one replaces ῥαββεί in a Marcan passage, one is inserted in a paraphrase of a Marcan passage which had originally no vocative, and two are in passages peculiar to Luke. With one exception (Luke xvii. 13) all are placed in the mouth of the disciples. The obvious explanation would be the assumption of a "ἐπιστάτα redaction" which affected the tradition before the final editor, whose personal preference was for κύριος. But in the absence of supporting evidence this theory is precarious, and its further discussion is unnecessary. Possibly the editor thought that ἐπιστάτης was a more suitable title than διδάσκαλος, which had more the connotation of schoolmaster than of religious leader.

The most probable conclusion is therefore that Jesus was

[1] In Mark x. 51 in the form ῥαββουνεί.

known among his personal followers not as *Maran*, "Lord," but as Rabbi, "Teacher," and this custom prevailed in Galilee and in Jerusalem, and is reflected in Mark and Q. But in other Aramaic-speaking circles outside Jerusalem, possibly in Antioch or the neighbourhood, he came to be known as *Maran*, or, in the case of the use of the title by a single person, *Mari*. This word was then translated by κύριος, and so passed into Greek circles. In course of time the connotation of κύριος in Greek religion became a dominant factor in thought, and Jesus was regarded as a Divine κύριος, the Lord of a circle of initiates who worshipped him. Moreover, the influence of the Septuagint, which used κύριος to render the tetragrammaton, no doubt assisted this development: many passages in which the Old Testament speaks of Jehovah came to be treated as references to Jesus, and the divine attributes of the Lord Jehovah passed over to the Lord Jesus.

No one is likely to doubt that the main features of this use of "Lord" had been reached in the Pauline churches; that it is central in Catholic belief. The only question which can legitimately be raised is whether this is also true of the editors of the Synoptic Gospels or Acts. These call Jesus κύριος: but is this merely a translated *Maran*, or does it mean the Divine Lord of a cult? On the whole, it seems quite clear that the Lucan editor belonged to the Greek side of the development. The Lord is the object of faith, and Christians are obviously regarded as being in a special relation to the Lord Jesus, in whom alone can salvation be found.[1] It is, however, somewhat remarkable that the antithesis κύριος—δοῦλος, which is so common in the Epistles, is not found in the Acts, except in iv. 29, where κύριος clearly refers to God and not to Jesus, in the prayer which begins by invoking God as δεσπότα. This may be regarded as showing that the linguistic feeling of Luke for the exact implication of the word is somewhat nearer to that in Dion Chrysostom and Philo than is that of the Pauline epistles. The point, however,

[1] Acts iv. 12, x. 43, xi. 17, xiii. 38 f., xvi. 31, etc.

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is quite secondary; what is of primary importance for the understanding of Acts is that the title κύριος marks the last stage in the synthesis between the Jewish elements in Christianity and the fundamental idea of Greco-Oriental religions. To this stage the study of Acts and of the Synoptic Gospels brings us, but no further. The synthesis with Greek metaphysics found in the later books of early Christianity is not reached.

Conclusion.

These sections on Primitive Christianity are designed to assist the attempt rightly to understand the development of thought and practice which produced the Christian Church of the middle of the first century. They are intended not as a finished picture of every element in it, but of those which certainly formed part of the stream of thought to which the writer of Acts belonged. That there were other elements in other streams is proved by the survival of the Pauline epistles; but these have often been discussed, and, though they will need to be discussed again, their full treatment is not called for in these Prolegomena.

It has seemed to the writers of these sections especially desirable to treat the subject in this way because so much work on the Gospels has been seriously injured by the effort, both by conservative and radical writers, to explain everything by the influence of Paul, and him, in turn, largely by the use made of his epistles by later generations. Paul was a great leader; but he was not the whole of Gentile Christianity, nor did he found every Gentile Church. It is worth the serious attention of the students of the New Testament to ask what account of the beginnings of Christianity the Synoptic Gospels and Acts offer if they are analysed in the light of the results of the literary criticism and of the distinction of sources achieved by the great scholars of the nineteenth century. When that question is answered the work of comparison can be undertaken properly. To help forward this investigation has been the object of the writers. They are well aware that much of what they have

written is controversial and doubtful; but they have been more anxious to state problems than to advocate theories, and have given unqualified statement to their own opinions chiefly in order to make easier a fuller discussion of the questions involved.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE ZEALOTS

By the Editors

It is somewhat of a shock to discover from Josephus that, if his evidence be correct, the use of the name Zealot to describe a Jewish sect or party cannot be earlier than A.D. 66. For this reason it seems opportune to bring together the facts dealing with the Zealots and contemporary movements.

Fourth Philosophy of Judas.

The usual assumptions[1] with regard to the Zealots are that they were followers of Judas the Gaulonite of Gamala, also called Judas of Galilee, who founded in A.D. 6 what Josephus calls the "Fourth Philosophy" of the Jews. This philosophy insisted on the repudiation of any king but God, and in some modern books it is represented as having strong Messianic hopes.[2] It is also maintained that the Zealots are the same as the Sicarii, or at least that the Sicarii are a branch of the Zealots, and it is often held that there was an almost unbroken succession of leaders of the Zealots, from Hezekiah, who preceded Judas and according to Schürer was his father, down to the fall of Jerusalem.

Josephus's statement.

Hardly any of these assumptions is well founded. With regard to Judas, Josephus[3] states that he tried to rebel at the time of the census of Quirinius with the support of a Pharisee named Zadok,[4]

[1] Typical, for instance, is the statement in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, on Zealot: "It is applied distinctively to a sect whose tenets are virtually identical with those of the Assassins, of whom they are indeed the forerunners." It can only be said of such statements that they reflect a misunderstanding of Schürer, not Josephus.

[2] It is sometimes held that the Assumption of Moses belongs to this school, but the evidence is slight. Moreover, the figure of Taxo is by no means clearly Messianic, even if Burkitt's ingenious suggestion, that Taxo(k) is gematria for Eleazar, be rejected.

[3] *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 6.

[4] According to Jewish tradition this Zadok belonged to the school of Shammai (Toseph. *Eduy.* ii. 2, *Yebamoth* 15*b*). See *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, art. "Beth Hillel."

after Joazar the son of Boethus, the High Priest, had induced the people to submit to the enrolment. He goes on to say that Judas founded the "Fourth Philosophy," which agreed in all respects with that of the Pharisees, except that it allowed only God to be acknowledged as king, and advocated deeds rather than words.

This statement in itself is entirely probable. The taxation of Quirinius was a twofold insult to Jewish prejudice: first, because of the repugnance which was felt to the idea of numbering the people; and secondly, because of the belief that the taxes payable by the Jews in the Holy Land were God's peculiar property. It is therefore quite likely that the idea was started by him and that it continued to persist down to the fall of Jerusalem. It is even probable that much in the New Testament can best be understood as propaganda against this theory. But this does not prove that the "Fourth Philosophy" was identical either with the Zealots or with the Sicarii, and it certainly does not show that the movement of Judas was Messianic. No doubt the Fourth Philosophy supplied the intellectual attitude from which the Zealots and Sicarii logically started, but there is no possibility of clearness in historical writing, if the name of a political party be given to its logical antecedents.

The clearest way of establishing the facts is to notice what Josephus really does say about the Zealots and Sicarii.

The Sicarii in Josephus.

He states in the Wars that the Sicarii arose[1] in the time of Felix. They were so called because they mingled in the crowd on festivals with a knife (*sica*) concealed in their clothes and assassinated their opponents. They killed first Jonathan the High Priest and afterwards so many more that a reign of terror ensued. In the same passage Josephus mentions two other movements, but clearly separates them from that of the Sicarii. The first was that of a band who claimed divine inspiration and led men out into the wilderness, "pretending God would there show them signs of liberty." Felix thought that this might be the beginning of a revolt, sent out cavalry against them, and cut them to pieces. Another rising was similarly dealt with by Felix, when an Egyptian false prophet collected 30,000 men, whom he led round from the wilderness to the Mount of Olives. It is very remarkable, especially in view of the well-known problem presented by the incident of Theudas, that in Acts these three risings in the time of Felix are combined into a single incident.[2] Josephus, however, clearly distinguishes them, though he mentions them together.

The later history of the Sicarii is that they formed an organised band which had its headquarters in the fortress of Masada near the

[1] *B.J.* ii. 13. 3.

[2] Οὐκ ἄρα σὺ εἶ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ὁ πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀναστατώσας καὶ ἐξαγαγὼν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους ἄνδρας τῶν σικαρίων; Acts xxi. 38.

Dead Sea, under the leadership of Eleazar, a kinsman of Judas. This held out until after the fall of Jerusalem, and was finally taken by Flavius Silva, after the garrison had killed first their wives and children, and afterwards themselves. Only two women and five children survived. Those Sicarii who had not been in Masada escaped to Egypt. Some went to Alexandria and tried to renew their opposition to Rome, but they were finally handed over by the Jews to the Romans. Others went to Cyrene; and one of them named Jonathan led out a number of the poorer class into the desert, promising them signs and wonders, but the richer Jews informed Catullus the governor, who dispersed Jonathan's followers. He revenged himself by laying information against the richer Jews, and he and Catullus joined in a campaign of blackmail, in which Josephus was involved. When, however, the matter came to the emperor, the plot was discovered, Catullus was disgraced, and Jonathan burned.[1]

The Sicarii left an interesting trace of their memory in the Mishna[2] in the law of *Sicaricon*, which was concerned with the settlement of the difficulty caused by property sold by the Sicarii and afterwards claimed by the original owner. It was clearly extended by analogy to other instances of a similar nature, but it is doubtful whether it originally refers to the time of Vespasian or of Hadrian.

Zealots in Josephus.

The first use of the word "Zealot" in Josephus as the name of a party in Jerusalem is in *Bellum Judaicum* iv. 3. 9. After this he uses it frequently, and always in the same sense. It is the name arrogated to themselves by the followers of the famous John of Gischala, who had escaped with some of his followers when his home, the last place in Galilee to be taken, was captured by Titus. John came to Jerusalem with his followers, and started a popular movement against the high-priestly families. He succeeded in procuring the election of the obscure Phinehas[3] (Φιννίας) as High Priest. It is quite clear from Josephus that the name "Zealot" (for he uses it as a technical designation) applies to John's following and to no other—a party equally opposed to the Sicarii, to the priests, and to the faction of Simon ben Giora. This Simon had once belonged to the Sicarii, but had left them because they would not undertake operations at a distance from Masada; ultimately he became captain of a large body of men, and was welcomed into Jerusalem by the priestly party headed by Matthias in order to combat the Zealots.

Zealot movement not Messianic.

It should be added that there is no reason for connecting the

[1] *B.J.* vii. 8. 1-11. 4.

[2] *Gittin* v. 7.

[3] Prof. Moore suggests that the association of this name with "zeal" in Numbers xxv. 13 ("he was zealous for his God") may be the origin of the name of the party of the Zealots.

Zealots or even the Sicarii with any Messianic movement. The first Jew who is known to have proclaimed himself the Messiah is Bar Cocheba (A.D. 132). The belief that a leader was the Messiah must be distinguished from the view that he was an inspired person of supernatural power. Claims of the latter kind were far more frequent. Familiar instances are the Egyptian in the time of Felix,[1] the Cyrenaean movement of Jonathan,[2] or the still earlier movement in Samaria suppressed by Pilate ; [3] but all these instances represent "false prophets," not "false Christs."

Hezekiah the brigand.

It is also desirable to protest that there is no justification at all for connecting either the Zealots or even the "Fourth Philosophy" of Judas with the brigand Hezekiah. This Hezekiah is mentioned in *B.J.* i. 10. 5. He is called an ἀρχιλῃστής and his capture was one of Herod the Great's first exploits. His son, Judas, is mentioned in *B.J.* ii. 4.1, as starting an insurrection after the death of Herod. But Josephus clearly distinguishes him from Judas the Gaulonite, for he says that Judas ben Hezekiah aimed at monarchy, while he is explicit in emphasising that the other Judas refused to recognise any king but God. The founder of the Fourth Philosophy, however regrettable the results of his teachings, may have been a fanatic, but was certainly neither a brigand nor an aspirant to a throne. Schürer's statement that Judas ben Hezekiah is "sicherlich" the same as Judas of Galilee seems, therefore, quite indefensible, except in so far as the use of "sicherlich" in theological writing indicates the combination of insufficient evidence with strongly held opinion.

The Cananaeans.

Finally, a word must be said about a remarkable statement in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, in which the writer on the word "Zealot" assumes that Zealot, or rather Cananaean, was the regular name of an order among the Jews who used physical force. The writer states that Clermont-Ganneau in 1871 discovered an inscription in the Temple, authorising the Cananaeans to kill any foreigners in the sacred parts of the building. All these statements seem to be misleading. The word "Cananaean" in the Talmud is applied generally to those who manifest religious zeal, and there is no more evidence in the Talmud of their existence as an order or sect than there is in Josephus. Moreover, the inscription apparently referred to is in Greek and does not mention the Cananaeans at all.

"Zealot" an honourable adjective.

Why is it that these facts have been so far overlooked that the name of Zealot has been so generally given to the Fourth Philosophy ? Partly because the word translated Zealot is not an uncommon one and represents patriotic virtue. It is used, for instance, in 2 Maccabees iv. 2 and in Josephus [4] of the patriots in the days of the

[1] *B.J.* ii. 13. 5.
[2] *B.J.* vii. 11. 1.
[3] *Antiq.* xviii. 4 1
[4] *Antiq.* xii. 6. 2.

Maccabees. It is therefore easy to treat the word in the same way as, for instance, *Chasid* has been treated, and to find a reference to the party of the Zealots every time that a man is praised for being zealous. But there is no real suggestion that in any of these passages the word is more than an honourable adjective. More important, probably, has been the influence of the name of Simon the Zealot. In Luke vi. 15 and Acts i. 13 the name Σίμωνα τὸν καλούμενον ζηλωτήν is given to one of the Twelve, who appears to be identical with Σίμων ὁ Καναναῖος in Matt. x. 4 and Mark iii. 18.[1] It is generally supposed that Καναναῖος is the transliteration and ζηλωτής the translation of the Aramaic קנאה, and that it means Zealot in the same sense in which Josephus uses the word. But it is obvious that Simon can scarcely have been called a Zealot, in the sense of belonging to the party of John of Gischala, and therefore the theory has arisen that there was a party called Cananaeans in Aramaic and Zealots in Greek before the last days of Jerusalem, identical with the Fourth Philosophy described by Josephus.

Simon Zealotes

Nevertheless, that קנאים was actually used to describe a definite party in Judaism is merely a guess, though a probable one, based on a retranslation of ζηλωτής in Josephus, combined with an imperfect appreciation of his usage. The usage is not actually found before the Aboth of Rabbi Nathan—a post-Talmudic work.

Recognising the facts as they are, the name of Simon the Zealot offers an interesting problem, which can be solved in more than one way. It is possible that we have all been wrong in translating the Greek of Luke, or explaining the transliterated Aramaic of Matthew, as "Simon the Zealot," and that it should be "Simon the Zealous"; or in other words that there is no reference at all to any political party but merely to the personal character of Simon. The probability of this suggestion is enhanced by the fact that in the New Testament (*e.g.* Acts xxii. 3), in the Greek Apocrypha (*e.g.* 2 Macc. iv. 2), and in Josephus in passages earlier than the rise of John of Gischala (*e.g. Antiq.* xii. 6) ζηλωτής is always "zealous." It is the equivalent of the Hebrew קנא a title of God and of men who are "jealous" for God's honour, such as Elijah.

Another possibility is that the Evangelists made a mistake and really thought that the word which they found in their source referred to the political party of which they had heard, or possibly had read about in the pages of Josephus.

[1] In the later MSS, both in Matthew and Mark, the name is changed to Σίμων ὁ Κανανίτης, and this is reproduced by the "Simon the Canaanite" of the A.V.

APPENDIX B

NAZARENE AND NAZARETH

By George F. Moore

Ναζωραῖος. Ναζαρηνός.

The form of the adjective translated Nazarene throughout the Book of Acts is Ναζωραῖος.[1] Christians are ἡ τῶν Ναζωραίων αἵρεσις (xxiv. 5). In John also Ναζωραῖος is the only form, and it seems to be preferred by the authors of our Greek Gospels of Matthew [2] and Luke;[3] but in the best-attested text Mark has consistently Ναζαρηνός, which appears also in Luke xxiv. 19 (from a separate source). In the Q of recent critics the adjective does not occur at all, nor is it found in the Epistles or the Revelation, in the Apostolic Fathers or the Apologists.[4]

As applied to Jesus and his followers by Jews.

In Jewish sources the corresponding name for Jesus is ישו הנוצרי (*Jeshū ha-noṣrī*) ; [5] a certain Jacob of Kefar Sekanya in Galilee, who in the early second century had a reputation for working cures in the name of Jesus, is "one of the disciples of Jeshū ha-nosrī" ; and Christians are called *noṣrīm*, for example, in the execration introduced into the Eighteen Prayers by Gamaliel II. (about 100 A.D.).[6] The word passed into Syriac as a common name for Christians (*nåṣråye*) and thence into Arabic, *naṣārā* (sing. *naṣrānī*, a Christian). Ναζωραῖος would seem therefore to be an attempt to represent the Hebrew adjective *noṣrī* or its Aramaic equivalent in Greek letters and grammatical pattern.

[1] Acts ii. 22, vi. 14 [ix. 5], xxii. 8, xxvi. 9 ; Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ Ναζωραῖος, iii. 6, iv. 10.

[2] Matt. ii. 23, xxvi. 71.

[3] Luke xviii. 37 ; cf. Mark x. 47.

[4] This gives no occasion for surprise if the common explanation of the word Ναζωραῖος is accepted ; to Gentile Christians the name of the village from which Jesus came had no significance ; for them the distinctive name was Jesus Christ.

[5] In the common editions of the Talmud all passages referring to Jesus have been omitted or mutilated by the censorship or through fear of it.

[6] So in the oldest Palestinian form of the *Shemone Esre*.

There is, however, a difficulty in this identification, which was long ago remarked by Jerome, Junius, Spanheim, Drusius, Grotius, and others: the peculiar Semitic sibilant ṣ (צ) is regularly represented in Greek by *sigma*, not by *zeta*, which with corresponding regularity stands for Hebrew *z* (ז), as, for example, in ναζιραῖος (*nazīr*). In the most recent discussion of the question, Burkitt[1] records but ten cases in the Greek Old Testament where ζ seems to stand for צ. The list might be lengthened by taking account of a greater variety of manuscripts than figure in Swete, and consequently in the Concordance of Hatch and Redpath, and some striking instances could be added from Josephus, *e.g.* Ἀζερμώθης in Gen. x. 27, Ζοφωνίας in Gen. xlvi. 16; and conversely Σακχαῖος (זכי) in Josephus, *Vita* 239; but at the most they are rare exceptions to a general rule, and are doubtless in part only graphic accidents. Burkitt thinks that this proves that Ναζωραῖος cannot be connected with *noṣrī* (נוצרי). But then the difficulty is only turned end for end; for in the Old Syriac version as well as in the Peshitto Ναζωραῖος is uniformly rendered *nâṣrâyâ*, and Ναζαρέθ is *nâṣrat*, and there would seem to be as much reason why Greek *zeta* should not be represented by Syriac *ṣade* as why *ṣade* should not be represented by *zeta*. Varieties of transliteration.

The explanation is so simple that it is not surprising that it should escape the search of the learned. The first Syrian Christians did not make their acquaintance with Jesus the Nazarene and his religion from Greek books, the proper names in which they transliterated according to rule or custom, but from the lips of missionaries of Aramaic speech, and they spoke and spelled *nâṣrâya*, *nâṣrât*, because they heard them so. The Syriac form of the word thus confirms the correctness of the Jewish tradition in which Christians are called *noṣrim*.

For the anomalous *zeta* in Ναζωραῖος, no more recondite explanation need be sought than the false analogy of Ναζιραῖος, Ναζαραῖος—an association which no one familiar with the tricks that false analogy habitually plays with foreign proper names will think it necessary to ascribe to reflection. It would take a great deal more than this anomaly of spelling to make it credible that the αἵρεσις τῶν Ναζωραίων of Acts xxiv. 5 are not the same as the heretics (*minim*) whom the Jews call *noṣrīm*.

In Acts, as well as in the Gospels,[2] Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος[3] is equivalent to Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀπὸ Ναζαρέθ;[4] the adjective serving to distinguish the Jesus whom his disciples declared to be the Messiah from other bearers of that common name by designating the place Ναζωραῖος a place-adjective.

[1] *Syriac Forms of New Testament Proper Names*, 1913.
[2] Cf. Matt. xxvi. 71 with xxi. 11, ii. 23.
[3] *E.g.* Acts ii. 22.
[4] Acts x. 38.

from which he came, in a manner very common among the Jews.[1] To this it has been objected, sometimes even by Hebraists, that Ναζωραῖος, Ναζαρηνός, or the Hebrew and Aramaic words thus rendered in Greek, cannot be derived from Ναζαρέθ; which should it is said, give something like Ναζαρεταῖος or Ναζαρετηνός, as in Josephus Δαβαριττηνοί from Δαβάριττα (Heb. *dobrat*; Euseb. Δαβεῖρα). The fact is, however, that when Hebrew patrials in *ī* are made from nouns of feminine form, the feminine ending *t* is sometimes preserved, as in *morashtī* from *moréshet*, *ma'katī* from *ma'ka*; sometimes the *ī* is affixed directly to the stem of the noun,[2] as in *timnī* from *timnat* (*timnata*), *libnī* from *libna*, *sor'ī* from *sor'a*, *yehūdī* from *yehūda*. A similar inconsistency exists in all branches of Aramaic. A single Galilean example may suffice: Ἰωτάπατα, well known from Josephus, is in the Talmud *yodpat*; a certain rabbi from that city is R. Menahem *yodpa'a* (*yotpaya*), which would be represented in Greek by Ἰωδπαῖος, Ἰωθπαῖος, the feminine *t* not appearing. In this respect the case is completely analogous to Ναζωραῖος from Ναζαρέθ, so that the formal possibility of the latter derivation is not to be denied.

The Syriac versions, as has been said, have for the name Nazareth *nâṣrat* (the first vowel sounding like English *o* in "on"). The Hebrew (*noṣrī*) exhibits the same vowel,[3] and is formally unimpeachable as a patrial from a name *noṣrat*, like *dobrat*, *yodpat*, *boṣkat*, etc.), while Ναζαρηνός is a sufficiently close reproduction of *noṣrī*; compare Josephus's Δαβάριττα with the Hebrew *dobrat*.

Ναζωραῖος not represented in Talmud.

Ναζωραῖος presents a different problem. So far as the endings are concerned, Ναζαρηνός, Ναζωραῖος are related to each other as Ἐσσηνός, Ἐσσαῖος, and other alternatives of the kind, for which it would be unnecessary to seek an explanation outside the Greek. But the vowels of Ναζωραῖος, or in 'Western' texts Ναζοραῖος, point to an Aramaic *n'sorai*, with the Aramaic ending *-ai* (determined, *-aiya*, *-a'a*), and with the vowel *o* shifted to the second syllable (*nosrī*, *n'sŏrai*). No such word is found in the Talmudic literature; but references to Jesus and his disciples occur, in fact, only in Hebrew contexts.[4] The metathesis of vowels, especially

[1] For instance, Eleazar *ha-mōdaī* (from Μωδεεῖν), Simeon *ha-tēmanī* (from Teima), Nathan *ha-arbelī* (from Arbela, in Galilee), Simeon *ha-shikmōnī* (from Sycaminon), and many more.

[2] This is the universal rule in Arabic, and was probably the older way in Hebrew and Aramaic.

[3] The *o* is not long, as writers whose theories of Hebrew orthography are derived from Old Testament grammars in the Kimchian tradition frequently assume. Compare נוכרי (*nokrī*) 'foreigner,' גוברא (*gubra*), 'man,' etc.

[4] It may be observed that in the voluminous Talmudic literature no form corresponding to Φαρισαῖος is found; only Heb. פרוש, פרושים,

of *o* and *u*, is, however, very common. Thus תומנתא and תמונתא, גוזרתא and גזורתא, מוהלתא and מהולתא, עורבת (cstr.) and ערובתא. An Aramaic נצוראי might therefore correspond to a Hebrew נוצרי. An analogous form is the name of Rabbi Nehorai (נהוראי),[1] which is interpreted 'enlightened,' from נהורא = Syr. נוהרא, 'light.'

Silence of Josephus and Talmud as to Nazareth.

The conclusion to which this long discussion brings us is that there is no philological obstacle to deriving Ναζωραῖος, Ναζαρηνός, from the name of a town, Nazareth. But such a town is known only from the Gospels and Acts; the name is not found in the Old Testament, in the writings of Josephus, or in the Talmuds and Midrashim, and from this voluminous silence it has been argued that there was no such place. This reasoning assumes that a combined list of the names in these sources gives a complete enumeration of the towns of Galilee, great and small, and the falsity of the assumption concealed in this extraordinary abuse of the *argumentum e silentio* will be immediately apparent to any one who examines the sources. As for the Old Testament, many of the chief cities of Galilee in the first and second centuries of our era are not named in it, as was remarked by the rabbis. Josephus mentions almost exclusively places which played a part in the insurrection of A.D. 66, and in the military operations of the first year of the war; the Talmuds and Midrashim name chiefly places which were the seats of rabbinical schools after the war under Hadrian, or the homes of rabbis. It is not necessary to take literally the exaggerations of Josephus and the Talmuds [2] about the enormous number of populous cities and towns in Galilee to be convinced that the few score they name are not all there were. When it is added that the Nazareth of the Gospels was apparently a small town of no conspicuous note, the fact that the name does not occur in either Josephus or the Talmud loses all significance.

Those who deny Nazareth an existence are constrained to explain its existence in the Gospels as an invention due to a false etymology: Ναζαρηνός, Ναζωραῖος, being mistakenly supposed to be patrial adjectives, a Ναζαρέθ was created to derive them from; [3] then stories were told connecting Jesus with his imaginary home; and finally, in the third or fourth century, when Christians were hunting holy places, the site was discovered,[4] or, more exactly, the name was fastened on an obscure village in Lower Galilee, which has borne it ever since; the modern Arabic name is al-Nāsira.

[1] Cf. also Kefar Neborai.

[2] *E.g.*, *Gittin* 57*a*.

[3] The *t* must have been maliciously appended to perplex amateur etymologists in later times.

[4] Euseb. *Onomastica Sacra*, ed. Lagarde, 284. 37 ff.

Theory that Nazareth = Chorazin.

A curious hypothesis has recently been put forward by Burkitt. Impressed by the fact that the name Nazareth is found only in the New Testament, and convinced that the *zeta* in Ναζαρέθ must stand for a Hebrew *zain*,[1] he suggests that the home of Jesus was really Chorazin (Χοραζεῖν), from which name Ναζαρέθ "may have arisen by a literary error." Three of the consonants of Χοραζεῖν are found in Ναζαρέθ—in inverse order to be sure! Sporadic scribal errors of comparable enormity can doubtless be adduced, but it would seem that an auxiliary hypothesis is required to explain how this particular error succeeded in imposing itself on the whole tradition of the text. What I wish here to point out, however, is that nothing —except a *z*—is gained by this substitution; for Chorazin is enveloped in a profounder silence than Nazareth—it is not found in the Old Testament, Josephus, or the Talmud,[2] and only in two parallel passages in the New Testament.[3]

Theory that Nazarene = a member of a religious party.

Rightly connecting "Nazarene" with נוצרי, but denying that either can be derived from the name of the town Nazareth—if there was any such town—some recent writers (J. M. Robertson, W. B. Smith, Arthur Drews) find a religious origin and significance for the adjective. The verb *naṣar* in Hebrew means 'observe, watch, watch over'; hence, 'keep' (*e.g.* commandments), 'guard, protect.' Faustus Socinus suggested long ago [4] that in Matt. ii. 23 Jesus was called Nazaraeus not only because his home was in Nazareth, but because he was the Saviour, 'Servator,' [5] from *naṣar*, 'servare.' This etymological interpretation of Matt. ii. 23 has been renewed by numerous scholars from the seventeenth century onwards. The writers with whom we are now concerned, rejecting, as we have seen, the connection with Nazareth, take נוצרי, Ναζωραῖος in the same way. Thus W. B. Smith: "Wir dürfen daher mit grosser Bestimmtheit behaupten, dass ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος . . . nichts

[1] Burkitt derives Ναζωραῖος from *nazīr*.

[2] Neubauer (*Géographie du Talmud*, p. 220) discovers Chorazin in כרויים Menaḥoth 85*a*, and a whole generation of New Testament commentators and writers on the topography of Palestine have confided in his identification. But the כרויים of Menaḥoth was in Judaea, not far from Jerusalem, as the context plainly shows and the parallel in the Tosephta Menaḥoth says in express words. The name itself is not wholly certain; Tos. *l.c.* reads ברחיים. The Tosephta, it may not be amiss to remark, is second-century evidence that the place in question—whatever its name was—lay in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem. Neubauer it may be added, introduced Nazareth also into the Talmud by an emendation of Jer. Megillah i. 1, proposing to read בית לחם נצרייה (for צרייה ב'ל), "the Nazarene Bethlehem," *i.e.* the Bethlehem near Nazareth —a conjecture which has received more attention than it merits.

[3] Matt. xi. 21 = Luke x. 13.

[4] *Lectiones sacrae, ad loc.* (*Opp.* i. 300).

[5] The word is used of God himself in Job vii. 20 ; Prov. xxiv. 12.

anders als: Jesus der Schützer, der Hüter, Jesus der Erretter, bedeutet." Jesus is, however, these authors assert, not the name of a man, but of a divinity.[1] It is a significant name: ישוע (Jeshuʿ) means, 'Deliverer, Saviour,' so that the transparent proper name of the god and the epiclesis under which he was worshipped express the same character and function. The worship of this divinity 'Jeshuʿ ha-nōṣerī,' is older than the Christian era. Epiphanius (*d.* 403 A.D.) describes a Jewish sect, the Ναζαραῖοι, who were before Christ and knew nothing of him, explicitly distinguishing them from the Jewish-Christian Ναζωραῖοι, as well as from the Ναζιραῖοι (Nazirites). These Ναζαραῖοι were the "*nōṣerīm*" worshippers of the saviour-god, Jeshūʿ ha-nōṣerī. The story of the supernatural conception in the Gospels, and of the crucifixion and resurrection, are the translation into legend of the widespread myth of the polyonymous god—Adonis, Attis, Osiris—who dies a violent death and comes to life again, through the rites of whose cult his devotees attain a blessed immortality.

Ναζαραῖοι in Epiphanius.

It is to be observed, in the first place, that the account Epiphanius gives of the Ναζαραῖοι suggests nothing of all this. They differed from the rest of the Jews, he says, in two principal points: *first*, the law in the Pentateuch is not the law which Moses received by revelation from God, but is wholly a later fabrication; *second*, to offer animal sacrifice or to eat the flesh of animals was ἀθέμιτον (*nefas*).[2] Otherwise they were just like the rest of the Jews; they practised circumcision and kept the Sabbath and festivals. The only other thing Epiphanius notes about them is that they denied fate (εἱμαρμένη) and astrology. Not only does Epiphanius say nothing of a salvationist sect, or mystery, of Ναζαραῖοι, with its private god "Jeshū ha-nōṣerī," but there is nowhere, under that name or any other, any trace of a Jewish sect of the kind.

Argument from etymology.

In the absence of historical evidence the existence of such a

[1] Here again the *argumentum e silentio* is relied on to prove that there was no such man: the passage about Jesus in Josephus is cancelled as a Christian interpolation, which in substance it is; *ex abundanti cautela* the references in Suetonius and Tacitus are also rejected; there is, it is then said with an air of conclusiveness, no mention of such a man in the Greek and Roman historians of the period. Why should there be? Was the execution of an obscure provincial an event so uncommon that the news of it would be sure to reach the ears of Roman historians, or important enough to demand record in the history of the Empire?

[2] It is probable that, as in the Clementine Homilies, with which Epiphanius's description at more than one point invites comparison, this principle is the ground of their rejection of the Mosaic law with its system of bloody sacrifices. They did not question the Pentateuchal history, for they recognised the antediluvian patriarchs together with Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Aaron, Moses, and Joshua.

sect is supposed to be demonstrable by etymology. Let us examine these etymologies more closely. The name ישוע, it is said, signifies 'Deliverer, Saviour.' In fact, ישוע, Ἰησοῦς, a very common personal name among the Jews, was, as every Jew knew, nothing but the late Hebrew and Aramaic pronunciation of the name Joshua (יהושוע; cf. Hag. i. 1 with Ezra ii. 2). But if the history of the name be ignored, ישוע could only be an abstract from the intransitive stem, meaning 'help, deliverance, success,' like ישועה; 'deliverer' is in Hebrew מושיע, the *nomen agentis* of the causative (transitive) stem.

Nor is the case better with the supposed epiclesis, נוצרי. Assuming that the *o* is long (*ha-nōṣerī*), and that the relative adjective is equivalent to the *nomen agentis*, *nōser*—the first an unwarranted assumption, the second false—it would mean, 'guardian, protector' (Schützer, Hüter), not 'deliverer, liberator, saviour' (Erretter, Befreier, Heiland); this seductive procession of the synonyms of Christian theology is a huge subreption. I have said above that the presumption is that the *o* in *nosrī* is short, as in *nokrī* and the like; but if an adjective in *i* could be formed from a *nomen agentis* (of which I have no example), *nōserī* would not mean the same as *nōser*, any more than Redemptorist is the same as Redemptor. Most derivatives of this type are patrials, patronymics, or gentile adjectives; but various other relations may be expressed, for example, a member of a sect or party, as *Ṣaddūḳī*, a Sadducee (from Ṣadduḳ, a man's name). An individual adherent of a sect of *noṣrīm* would be a *noṣrī*, whatever the origin of the name might be. But the afformative is always significant, and an etymological hypothesis which is constrained to ignore it condemns itself.

Whether Epiphanius's description of his Jewish Nasaraeans is more trustworthy than most of what he retails about Jewish sects—the Pharisees, for instance—and whether they were really as ancient as he says, is beside the present point. The sect which Smith and others describe with such particularity is a modern myth, invented, like so many other myths, by false etymology, in the service of that "religionsgeschichtliche Methode" of which it may fairly be said—with Shakespeare's leave—"If this be method, there's madness in it." To find a match for *Der vorchristliche Jesus* one must go to Pérès's ingenious demonstration that a man Napoleon never existed;[1] he was Apollo, as the very name proves (Νή,'Απόλλων), and his whole story a solar myth. But Pérès was consciously writing a satire on the etymological-mythological method by which Dupuis had proved that there never was a man Jesus; he was a sun-god, the twelve apostles the signs of the zodiac, the Christian myth a variant of Mithras.

[1] M. J.-B. Pérès, *Comme quoi Napoléon n'a jamais existé; ou Grand Erratum, source d'un nombre infini d'errata à noter dans l'histoire du xix^e siècle.* 1817.

APPENDIX C

THE SLAVONIC JOSEPHUS

By the Editors.

The Slavonic version of Josephus, which is not yet generally accessible, contains many paragraphs which are not found in Greek. Their origin is quite uncertain, and can scarcely be profitably discussed until the whole evidence is available, and the expert opinion of Slavonic scholars has been obtained as to the relation of these passages to the rest of the version. One of the most remarkable deals with John the Baptist. It has been published in a German translation by A. Berendts in "Die Zeugnisse vom Christentum im slavischen *De Bello Judaico* des Josephus" in *Texte und Untersuchungen* xxix. 4, and by J. Frey in *Der slavische Josephusbericht.* The question has been discussed both by these scholars and by their reviewers whether this paragraph is of Jewish or Christian origin. The possibility has been suggested (but has found little favour) that it belongs to another version, presumably Aramaic, made by Josephus himself. The *Theologische Jahrsbericht* for 1907–10 gives a short account of the literature on the subject. To students of the text of Josephus the matter is interesting, to the historian it seems to be curious rather than important, for the narrative appears to have every sign of inaccuracy. Since, however, it seems not to be available in English, a translation from Berendts is appended.

"In those days, however, a man wandered among the Jews clad in unusual garments, because he had put on furs about his body, on all parts of it which were not covered by his hair. Moreover, judging from his face, he looked just like a wild man.

"This man came to the Jews and summoned them to freedom, saying, 'God has sent me, that I may show you the way to the law, by which you may free yourselves from the great struggle of sustaining yourselves. And there will be no mortal ruling over you, only the Highest, who has sent me.' And as the people heard

this, they were happy ; and all Judea, which lies in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, followed him.

" And he did no other thing to them than to plunge them into the flood-tide of the Jordan and let them go, pointing out to them that they should leave off evil deeds, and promising that there would be given them a king, who would free them and conquer for them all peoples not yet subject to them, but that nobody among those of whom we are speaking would be vanquished. Some reviled him, but others were won over to belief.

" And then he was led to Archelaus where the men versed in law had assembled ; they asked him who he was and where he had been up to this time. And he answered this question, and spoke thus, ' Pure am I, for God's spirit has entered into me, and I nourish my body on reeds and roots and wood-shavings.' But when they threw themselves upon him, in order to rack him, unless he revoked his former words and actions, he then spoke again, ' It befits you to leave off your atrocious works and to join yourselves to the Lord, your God.'

" And in a rage there rose up Simon, by descent an Essene, a scribe, and this one spoke : ' We read each day the godly books. But you, who have just come out of the woods like a wild beast, how do you dare, indeed, to teach us and seduce the people with your profligate sermons ! ' And he rushed forward in order to harm him. But he, rebuking them, spoke, ' I shall not reveal to you that secret dwelling within your hearts, for you have not wished it. Thereby an unspeakable misfortune has come upon you and by your own design.'

" And after he had thus spoken, he went forth to the other side of the Jordan, and since no one dared blame him, each did exactly what he had done formerly.

" When Philip was in possession of his power, he saw in a dream how an eagle tore out both his eyes. And he summoned all his wise men. But as each explained the dream differently, that man, of whom we have written before, telling how he went about in the furs of wild beasts and how he purified the people in the waters of the Jordan, came to him suddenly unbidden. And he spoke, ' Hear the word of the Lord on the dream which you have had. The eagle—that is your corruptibility, because that bird is violent and rapacious. And that sin will take from you your eyes, which are your power and your wife." And as he had thus spoken, before evening Philip died and his power was given to Agrippa.

" And his wife took to husband Herod, his brother. On her account, however, all the men versed in law abhorred him, but dared not accuse him to his face.

" Only that man, however, whom people called a wild man,

came to him with wrath and spoke : ' Why have you taken your brother's wife ? As your brother died a remorseless death, so will you too be mowed down by the heavenly sickle. God's heavenly decree will not be silenced, but will cause your death through evil affliction in foreign lands. For you are not producing children for your brother, but are giving rein to your carnal desires, and are carrying on adultery, since four children of his exist.'

" But when Herod heard this he grew angry and ordered that the man be beaten and driven forth. But he accused Herod so incessantly, wherever he found him, and for so long a time, that finally he offered violence to him and ordered him to be killed.

" But his character was unusual and his method of life was not mortal ; as, for instance, a fleshless spirit would, so did this man also persist. His lips knew no bread, not once at the Passover did he partake of unleavened bread, saying, That in remembrance of God, who had freed the people from servitude, this sort of bread was given for food, as a consolation, for the way was woeful. But he did not once allow himself near wine and intoxicating drinks. And he shunned every animal for food, and he punished every wrong, and wood-shavings answered his needs."

APPENDIX D

DIFFERENCES IN LEGAL INTERPRETATIONS BETWEEN PHARISEES AND SADDUCEES

By the Editors.

It is interesting to collect from the Rabbinical writings a few points of difference between Pharisees and Sadducees in interpreting the laws. In almost every case we are impressed by the mildness of the Pharisaic *halaka* or rule of life.

Law of *Erubim.*

The Erub.—The law was very strictly interpreted in regard to Sabbath observance, and was felt to be intolerable. The prohibition against carrying anything in or out of the house on the day of rest was very oppressive, and, to render it easier to observe, a system of *erubim* was devised by which several houses could be counted as a single mansion. This the Pharisees supported, but their rivals condemned, and it is said that a single Sadducee in a community, enjoying the *erub*, could invalidate the privilege.[1]

Sabbath.

The Sabbath.—The rigidity with which the Sabbath obligations were interpreted was, as in the case of the *erub*, relaxed by the Pharisees; and one of the reasons alleged for regarding the Damascene document as influenced by Sadduceeism is the severe view it takes of Sabbath observance. The covenanters of Damascus even refused to raise an animal which had fallen into a pit on the Sabbath; nor did they allow a ladder or cord to be used to save a

[1] The treatise *Erubin* (Combination) Mishna, vi. 2, cf. f. 68*a*. The Mishna is, "If a man dwell in the same court with a Gentile or with a Jew who does not acknowledge the law of Erub, their presence prevents his carrying anything into or out of his house on the Sabbath."

To the question whether a Sadducee was in this respect on the same footing with a foreigner, R. Gamaliel answered, No, and related: "It happened that a Sadducee dwelt with us in the same alley in Jerusalem, and my father said to us, 'Make haste and bring out your vessels into the alley, before he brings his out and thus prevents your doing so.'" But in the same connection a tradition (Baraita) is quoted: "An Israelite who lives in the same court with a Gentile, a Sadducee, or a Boethusian is prevented by them (from carrying in)."

The *Erub* was devised to mitigate the Law, Exodus xvi. 29: "Let no man go out of his place on the Sabbath day."

man in a like position on the holy day. Even offerings, except the morning and evening in the temple, were forbidden, as they caused a breach of the Sabbath.[1]

The Year of Release.—The law of the year of release (*Shemitta*) was found to operate with peculiar severity in the case of borrowers. According to Deut. xvi. 3 all debts were to be remitted to the Israelites every seventh year; and, consequently in the last years of a Sabbatic period no one could lend with any confidence that the money would be repaid, and therefore none could borrow. To remedy this, the Pharisees, traditionally Hillel,[2] invented a system by which the borrower could agree not to take advantage of the Sabbatic year. This was known as *prosbul* (προσβολή), and was designed to remedy the law in Deut. xv. 1. 2. "At the end of every seven years thou shalt make a release (*Shemitta*). And this is the manner of the release: every creditor shall release that which he has lent unto his neighbour; he shall not exact it of his neighbour and his brother; because the Lord's release hath been proclaimed." [2] Year of release.

Damage done by an Animal or a Slave.—There is a curious passage in the treatise *Yadaim* (Hands), in which the Sadducees reproach the Pharisees for deciding that a man ought to pay for damage done by his ox or his ass, but not by his servant. The Pharisees justified their decision by an appeal to common sense. The ox or ass, being irrational animals, can be controlled, but not so a servant or handmaid, for whom no man can be responsible in the same sense as he can be for a brute.[3] Damage.

[1] The Damascene law of the Sabbath is far more strict than that of the Talmud. See Schechter's edition, and his notes on pp. 10 and 11 of the document. Note especially pp. 11, 14: "No man shall deliver an animal on the day of the Sabbath. And if it falls into a pit or ditch, he shall not raise it on the day of the Sabbath. . . . And if any person falls into a gathering of water . . . he shall not bring him up by a ladder or cord or instrument. No man shall bring anything on the altar on the Sabbath save the burnt offering of the Sabbath, for so it is written 'Save your Sabbaths.'"

On the prohibition against raising an animal out of a pit Schechter remarks: "The Rabbinic law is less strict." See *Sabbath* 129*b*, and Maimonides, *Hilcoth Sabbath*, chap. 25, par. 25. Jesus appeals to a lenient interpretation of the Law in his day (Luke xiv. 5). The next clause in the document might be cited to support the reading *viós* for *ónos* in Luke, or, at least, to show that it has some probability. For the last clause cf. Matt. xii. 5, "The priests in the temple profane the Sabbath and are blameless."

[2] Hillel is credited with the institution of the *prosbul*. Derenbourg, *op. cit.* p. 189, note 1, quotes, Mishna, *Gittin* iv. 3. הלל התקין פרוזבול מפני תקון העולם "Hillel instituted the *prosbul* for the reformation of the world."

[3] *Yadaim* iv. 7. This Derenbourg (*op. cit.* p. 134) thinks has a political reference. Hyrcanus II. pleaded this in excuse for his tolerating the crimes of his servant Herod, who might avenge himself upon his master if he remonstrated. This plea was not accepted by the Sadducees.

False witness.

The Case of False Witness.—According to Deut. xix. 16 ff. a man guilty of false witness was to receive the punishment which his victim would have suffered. In this case the Pharisaic decision took account of the intention of the perjurer, the Sadducees of the effect of his testimony. If an innocent man was pronounced guilty owing to a false witness, the Pharisees thought the perjurer should suffer the same fate as he meant the defendant to incur. The Sadducees thought that sentence of death should be inflicted only if capital punishment had been actually undergone by the man unjustly condemned. The passage in the Mishna[1] says: "The false witnesses are not to be put to death unless the death-sentence has been pronounced upon the accused by the court. The Sadducees, indeed, said, Not unless the accused has been executed, for it is said, Life for life! The learned replied, Is it not said in the preceding context, You shall do unto him as he *designed to do* to his brother? This implies that his brother was still alive. But then why does it say, Life for life? It might otherwise be inferred that the false witnesses were liable from the time when their testimony was taken; this is excluded by the words, Life for life. So they are not put to death unless sentence has been pronounced (that is, before the falsity and malice of their testimony are brought to light)."

Inheritance.

Female Inheritance.—The rights of females to inherit in the absence of male heirs was conceded by Leviticus xxvii.; but there was an ambiguity in the case of a man leaving no sons or grandsons but only a daughter and a grand-daughter descended from a deceased son. The Pharisees maintained that the niece inherited before the aunt; the Sadducees took the opposite view.[2]

The above examples, trivial as they may seem to a modern student, are of importance as illustrating the difference between the two great parties in Judaism. They show that the interpretation, so general in commentaries, that the Sadducees represented religious indifference whilst Pharisaism was characterised by an anxious legalism is erroneous; and that the theory that Sadduceeism is equivalent to liberalism cannot be sustained.[3]

[1] Tract *Makkoth* (stripes) 1. 7.

[2] "When there are neither sons nor son's children the daughters and their dependants become the rightful heirs. The Sadducees held that the daughters shared in the inheritance when there was only the daughter of a son living, but Johanan ben Zakkai and other Pharisees decided that the son and all his descendants whether male or female should precede the daughter in the right of inheritance." (*Baba Bathra* 115*b*, of Tosephta, *Yadaim* ii. 9; Megillath, *Ta'anit* 5.) Cf. *Jewish Encycl.*, art. "Inheritance."

[3] See Geiger, *Die Pharisäer und Sadducäer*, Breslau, 1867, p. 27.

APPENDIX E

THE AM HA-AREṢ (THE PEOPLE OF THE LAND) AND THE ḤABERĪM (ASSOCIATES)

By George F. Moore

Am ha-areṣ is properly a collective, meaning "the common people." In rabbinical literature it is oftener an individual of this class, "a man of the common people," and the plural, *amē ha-areṣ*, is employed somewhat as we use "the masses." [1] Meaning of word.

An *am ha-areṣ* may be a layman in contrast to a priest, as where Phineas refuses to go to Jephthah to absolve him of his vow because it is beneath the dignity of a High Priest to go to an *am ha-areṣ* (*Tanchuma*, *Behukkothai* 7). Much more frequently the term is in express or implied contrast to *talmīdē ḥakamīm*, "scholars"; the educated class sets itself over against the masses of the people. (See e.g. *Nedarim* 14*a*, 20*a*.)

Inasmuch as Jewish education consisted almost exclusively of the study of the Scriptures and the religious tradition—theological, ethical, ceremonial, juristic—the "common man" is one who is ignorant of the duties and observances of his religion; if not of the rudiments, at least of the refinements on which so much time was spent in the schools.

The educated constituted a social class, and in their own estimate the most respectable class in the community. They looked down on the masses not only as unlearned but as ill-bred, rude, and dirty. An educated man should therefore not marry a woman of this class, nor give his daughter in marriage to a man of the common people. If he cannot get the daughter of a scholar for a wife—to attain which end he should be willing to sell all he has—he should marry the daughter of a man of consideration in the community; if he cannot compass this, the daughter of the head of a synagogue, the daughter of a collector of communal charities, or even the daughter Contempt of the masses.

[1] Similarly, *goi*, in the Old Testament a foreign nation, is in the later literature an individual foreigner, with the religious connotation, "heathen," and the plural *goiim*, means "Gentiles."

of the teacher of a boys' school; but not a woman of the common people, "for they are loathsome (*sheḳeṣ*) and their women are unclean vermin (*shereṣ*)." A common man makes a brutal husband; for an educated man to marry his daughter to one is like exposing her, bound and helpless, to a lion; he will beat her, and assert his conjugal rights over her without decency. (*Pesaḥīm* 49*b*—where there is more of the same sort.)

The *bōr*.

A more opprobrious term than *am ha-areṣ* is *bōr*; a *bōr* is a man who has all the faults of the *am ha-areṣ* in the superlative degree. According to *Bemidbar Rabba* 3, 1, there are in Israel three classes: students of the law (*benē tōrah*), common people (*amē ha-areṣ*), and *bōrīm*. An often-quoted saying of Hillel is: "No *bōr* has scruples about sinning, and no *am ha-areṣ* is pious." [1] In *Tos. Berakoth* 7, 18 a rabbi thanks God that he did not create him a heathen, a woman, or a *bōr*.[2]

Jewish Association.

Scrupulous Jews formed an association (*ḥabūrah*) the members of which were pledged to keep themselves pure from ceremonial defilement and to set apart with meticulous exactness the portion of the products of the soil which were by the Law to be given to the Priests (*terūmah gedōlah*) or to the Levites (tithes). Those who assumed these engagements called themselves "associates" (*ḥaberīm*), and it is not improbable that the name "Pharisees" was originally applied to them as men who separated themselves from uncleanness. The members of these societies were drawn largely from the educated class, and since *ḥaber* is used also for a "fellow," as we might say, of a rabbinical school, or a colleague of its head, it is sometimes doubtful in which sense the word is to be taken; the ambiguity is, however, of no importance for our present purpose.

Haberim or Associates.

The pledge of the *ḥaber*, which had to be taken in the presence of three members (*Bekoroth* 30*b*), restricted in various ways his intercourse with the common people: he must not give *terūmah* or tithes to an *am ha-areṣ* (that is, to a Priest or Levite of this class), perform his purifications in the presence of an *am ha-areṣ*, be the guest of one, or entertain one in his house (unless he left his outer garment outside); he must not sell him of the products of the earth either "dry" (grains, and the like) or "moist" (garden vegetables and fruits), or buy from him anything except "dry" (dry things not being subject to uncleanness by contact), etc. There are numerous other rules about buying and selling between a *ḥaber* and an *am ha-areṣ* which it is superfluous to set down here. (See *M. Demai* 2, 2 f.; *Tos. Demai* 2-3; *Jer. Demai, in loc.*; *Tos. Abodah Zarah* 3,

[1] "Pious" has here what we might call a professional sense, the expert religiousness of the Scribes and Pharisees. It takes education to make a saint. Cf. *Sabb.* 63*a* near the end.

[2] In the liturgy the *bōr* is replaced by "a slave."

8 ff. etc.) A *ḥaber* should not travel in company with an *am ha-areṣ*, visit him, study the law in his presence (*Pesaḥīm* 49*b*). "Do not be frequently in the company of an *am ha-areṣ*, for in the end he will give you something to eat from which the tithes have not been separated; do not be much in the company of a priest who is an *am ha-areṣ*, for in the end he will give you *terūmah* to eat (*Nedarim* 20*a*). Cf. *Sabb.* 13*a*: A Pharisee should not eat with an *am ha-areṣ*, even when they are both unclean (*zabīm*), lest he become intimate with him and eat food not tithed, or (since most of the class pay tithes) subsequently eat unclean food when in a state of cleanness.

The reasons for these restrictions and precautions are partly the presumption of uncleanness which attaches to the *am ha-areṣ* and everything that belongs to him, partly the presumption that the portion of the Priests and Levites has not been properly separated, or the laws concerning the fruits of the fallow year duly observed. The importance of the religious taxes in the eyes of the rabbis is shown by the saying of Simeon b. Gamaliel: "The rules about *ḳodesh*, *terūmah*, and *ma'aserōth* (holy things, priests' dues, and tithes) are fundamentals of the law (*gūphē tōrah*), and these are delivered to the *am ha-areṣ*" (*Sabb.* 32*b*). The garments of an *am ha-areṣ* defile by contact, fruit that he has handled is suspected of contracting uncleanness from his touch, etc. Since the great concourse of people at the festival seasons made it impossible to avoid contact with the multitudes, an exception is made for these occasions; the uncleanness of the *am ha-areṣ* is reckoned as cleanness during the feasts (*Bēṣa* 11*b*), and at these seasons their testimony about the payment of *terūmah* was accepted (*Ḥagīgah* 26*a*).

The *am ha-areṣ* presumably unclean.

The peasantry were believed—probably with sufficient reason—to be both ignorant and negligent in the matter of their religious dues (*terūmah* and tithes); consequently when a scrupulous Jew bought food from them in the market he could never be sure—whatever the seller averred—that he was not making himself an accessory to this fraud on God and his ministry. What is to be done in such a case is the subject of the book entitled *Demai* in the first part of the Mishnah and the Tosephta. The *ḥaber*, when he did not know that he was dealing with one who had pledged himself to be faithful and trustworthy in these matters (that is, another *ḥaber*), made sure by setting apart from his purchase the legal *terūmah* and tithes of "all that he sold, bought and ate"[1] (*Sotah* 48*a*; ordinance of John Hyrcanus).

The *am ha-areṣ* was not necessarily of the lowest social class; Priests, and even the High Priest, might be without rabbinical education and might pay little attention to the casuistry of the

[1] Cf. Luke xviii. 12, ἀποδεκατεύω πάντα ὅσα κτῶμαι, which might almost be rendered, "I tithe all that I buy."

schools or even to the letter of the Law.[1] Probably not many of the higher priesthood, at least, were members of the precisian societies.[2] Such Priests were *am ha-areṣ* in the eyes of the scholars and the Pharisees, and were treated as such.

The line between the two classes was, thus, not one of birth or station but, we might say, of culture and piety, and there was no great gulf fixed so that men could not pass over from one side to the other. A student might abandon his studies, and sink to the level of the *am ha-areṣ*; a *ḥaber* might engage in an occupation—that of collector[3] for example—which was incompatible with his professions, and be expelled from the association, or (by a later relaxation of the discipline) be suspended as long as he held the office.[4]

Any one might become a *ḥaber* by merit.

On the other hand, a man of the common people could become a student, and advance to be a "fellow," a colleague, the head of a school, and in time attain the highest rank among the learned, as the example of Akiba and many others shows. The zeal of the rabbis for the multiplication of scholars, as well as the natural attractions of the learned career, drew many of the lower classes into the schools. Again, without the education of the schools, any man could become an associate (*ḥaber*) by assuming the obligations of the *ḥabūrah* and binding himself to be trustworthy (*ne'eman*) in the matters of ceremonial cleanness and the separation of the portion of God and the ministry, thus relieving himself of the suspicion attaching to his class and the social disabilities which resulted from it. The conditions of admission were the same for a student (*talmīd ḥakam*) as for an *am ha-areṣ*. A difference was made, however, between an *am ha-areṣ* who was seen to be observant of the proprieties and decencies of life in his home (who was *ṣenī'a*) and one who was not; the former was at once admitted to membership and then instructed in the obligations he had assumed; the latter was given a course of instruction before he was allowed to take the engagements. We read also of stages of admission (beginning

[1] The accounts we have of the appropriation of the Levites' tithes by the Priests, who collected them for themselves by force, if necessary, do not indicate a strict regard for the Law.

[2] It is perhaps a reproof of the Priests of the time for their indifference in this regard that it is asserted that Aaron was a *ḥaber* and his sons *ḥaberīm* (*Sanhedrin* 90).

[3] *Gabbai*, a collector of any kind, whether of taxes for the Government or of the charitable gifts of the community. If "publican" had been specifically meant the specific term, *mokes*, would doubtless have been used.

[4] Travel or residence outside the land also suspended the relation to the *ḥabūrah*; it was not possible to live according to the rule in a foreign country. If the *ḥaber* returned to Palestine, he resumed his place in the *ḥabūrah* without further ceremony—he did not have, like a Brahman, to restore broken caste.

with the washing of hands) and of probationary periods of different length before a man was recognized as in all respects "trustworthy." (See *Tos. Demai* 2; *Bekoroth* 30*b*).

The feelings of the two classes were not altogether friendly. The educated had not only the pride of learning, but a religious pride in their learning; the study of God's word in Scripture and tradition was not only the sole way to a knowledge of religion, but it was itself the most meritorious of all good works. They looked down on the common people with the arrogance of this double superiority—"the masses who do not know anything about religion ('do not know the Law') are accursed." The Pharisees, whether learned or unlearned, had the pride of the minutiae of the Law, about which most men were negligent, and condemned those who were less scrupulous. This attitude provoked the hostility of the people; contempt on the one side encountered hatred on the other. Rivalry between learned and unlearned.

Of the feeling of the rabbis toward the common people some instances have been quoted above; it would be possible to adduce many more. Thus, the words of the Law, "Cursed is the man who lies with any beast," is applied to the marriage of the scholar with a woman of the people. Rabbi Eleazar said, "It is lawful to stab an *am ha-areṣ* on a Day of Atonement that falls on a Sabbath (a day of double holiness)." His disciples said, "You mean to say, to slaughter him." He replied, "Slaughtering requires a benediction; stabbing does not." Rabbi (Judah ha-Nasi) taught that an *am ha-areṣ* should by rights eat no meat, for the Scripture says, "This is the law concerning domestic animals and birds," consequently only one who studies the Law may lawfully eat the flesh of animals or birds (*Pesaḥīm* 49*b*). Even the piety of an *am ha-areṣ* is disapproved: "If an *am ha-areṣ* is pious (*ḥasīd*), do not dwell in his neighbourhood" (*Sabb.* 63*a*).[1]

A Baraitha teaches: "Six things are laid down by the rabbis about the *am ha-areṣ*: Entrust no testimony to him, take no testimony from him, trust him with no secret, do not appoint him guardian of an orphan, do not make him the custodian of charitable funds, do not accompany him on a journey; many add, do not inform him if you have found something belonging to him."[2] Sitting in the synagogues of the *am ha-areṣ* is one of the things that take men out of the world (cause their death).[3]

Various definitions of *am ha-areṣ* are given: he is a man who Definition of *am ha-areṣ*.

[1] He will be self-taught and not in conformity with the teachings of the rabbis or the rules of the *ḥabūrah*. Rashi explains: He does not know the minutiae of the commandments, and therefore his piety will not be perfect; if you live in his neighbourhood there is danger that you will be influenced by his example. Compare the *ḥasid soteh* (*Sotah* 20*a*).

[2] *Pesaḥim* 49*b*.

[3] *Aboth* 3. 10.

does not recite the *shema'* with his prayers morning and evening; or one who does not put on the *tephillīn* at prayer time; or one who has no tassels (*ṣiṣīth*) on his garment; or one who has sons and does not bring them up to the study of the Law. He is a man who does not eat his ordinary food (*ḥullīn*) in a state of ceremonial cleanness (after proper washing; one of the obligations which the associates took upon themselves).[1] The definition of the majority of the authorities is, one who does not separate the tithes.[2]

The learned sometimes extended the name opprobriously to those whose education they regarded as incomplete: if a man has studied the Scripture and the Mishnah, but has not frequented the schools of the rabbis (for the exposition and discussion of these texts), he is, according to Rabbi Eleazar, an *am ha-areṣ*; R. Samuel ben Nahman said a *bōr*. Others call him still harder names—a Samaritan (*kūthī*), or a Magian (the Magian murmurs, and knows not what he utters; such a student repeats what he has by heart but knows not what he says). Another statement of the matter is: One who has read the Scripture and studied the Mishnah, but not sat at the feet of the rabbis, is an *am ha-areṣ*; if he has read the Scriptures but not studied the Mishnah, he is a *bōr*; if he has neither read the Scriptures nor studied the Mishnah, of such a one the Scripture says, "I will sow the land with the seed of man and the seed of beast," *i.e.* he is a brute beast.

Unpopularity of students.

On the other side it is said that the common people hate a student more than the heathen hate Israelites, and the women hate them worse than the men do. Most bitter of all is the hatred of an *am ha-areṣ*, who knows the teaching of the schools but has given up the study of the Law. R. Akiba said of himself: "When I was an *am ha-areṣ*, I used to say, 'I wish I had one of those scholars, and I would bite him like an ass.' His disciples said, 'You mean like a dog.' He replied, 'An ass's bite breaks the bone; a dog's does not'" (*Pesaḥīm* 49*b*).

Much of this is rabbinical hyperbole which no one acquainted with the literature will take too seriously,[3] but beneath the extravagance of expression there is an animus on both sides which doubtless varied greatly in intensity with times and persons.

In conclusion it is perhaps not superfluous to add that the

[1] Cf. Mark vii. 2.

[2] Yet it is repeatedly said that most of the common people set apart the tithes. Further, the common people are not suspected in the matter of the charity tithe, or at the time of the feasts.

See *Sotah* 22*a*; *T'os. Abodah Zarah* 3. 10; *Sabb.* 13*a*; *Makkoth* 17*a*, *Nedarim* 84*b*, etc.

[3] An example of strong speech: a student who walks abreast of his master instead of keeping deferentially some steps behind him is a *bōr*.

notion that sometimes crops up in the books, that the *amē ha-areṣ* were the humble pious in the land, in contrast to the arrogant scholars and the self-righteous Pharisees, a class corresponding to the *ʿanawīm* of the Psalms, is without any better support than the imagination of the authors who entertain it. That among those upon whom the Rabbis and the Pharisees so liberally bestowed the name *am ha-areṣ* there were many godly men and women is unquestionable, but that the genuine religion of the Jews is to be looked for in this class is an altogether different matter.

That Jesus and his disciples would have been counted by the Scribes and Pharisees among the *amē ha-areṣ* is proved by the fact that they did not observe the rabbinical rule about washing their hands before eating, for the first step in the reception of an *am ha-areṣ* to the *ḥabūrah* was the observance of precisely this custom (he was first admitted to hand-washing—*kanaphai*—then to the general rules of ceremonial cleanness—*taharōth*). Cf. also Mark vii. 2 and Matt. xii. 25.

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